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LITTLE ORGANIZATION, BIG RESULTS

Women turning out by the thousands in fight for peace

By Robert E. Light

THE RATTLING of nuclear sabers over Berlin awakened American women to the danger of war. Soviet resumption of tests, followed by U.S. underground explosions and the promise of atmospheric blasts has sent them into the streets with their children in the largest and most widespread peace demonstrations since the Korean War.

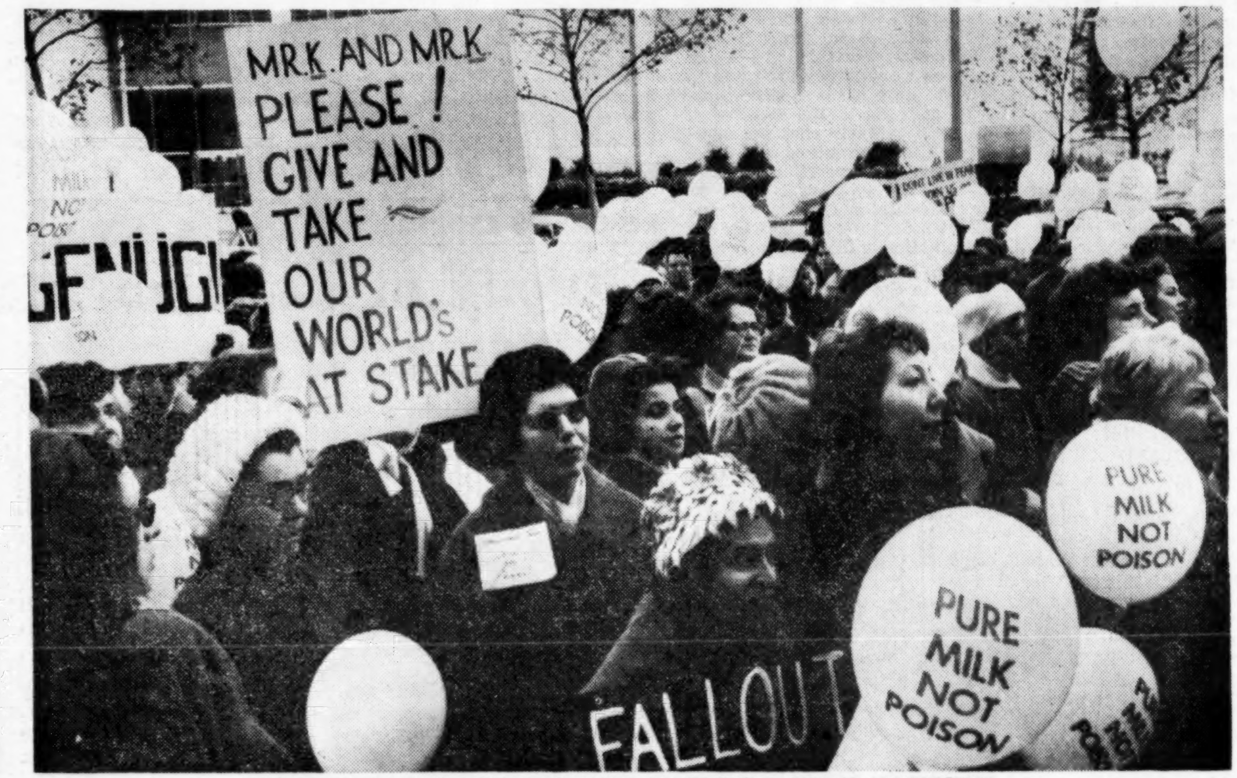
The women's protest movement has no national organization; it has no officers or sponsors, no offices or employees. But thus far the lack of formal organization has been an asset. The women have spent their full energies on activities. Demonstrations of thousands have been organized by small volunteer committees, working on the telephone.

The most recent example of a successful "non-organized" demonstration was in New York Dec. 7 at Civil Defense Headquarters. About 1,000 women, many with children, formed a picket line for two hours around a square block. They protested the recent $100,000,000 appropriation by the State Legislature to build fallout shelters in schools. In an open letter to Gov. Rockefeller, distributed to passersby, they called for an end to CD drills in schools, repeal of CD laws, and open hearings on civil defense at which scientists and other shelter opponents could testify. Many kept their children from school as a protest.

DIRECT ACTION: The demonstration was organized by Women's Direct Action Project, consisting of six women, each younger than 30. With a mailing list compiled from previous demonstrations, they spread word of the protest. In dozens of communities, small groups undertook to notify others. They formed car pools and made their own signs.

A sympathy picket line of men marched across the street. At its height it numbered about 50. It included pacifists A. J.

(Continued on Page 4)


MR.K. AND MR.K. PLEASE! GIVE AND TAKE OUR WORLD's AT STAKE
PURE MILK NOT POISON
PURE MILK NOT POISON
FALLOUT

WOMEN ARE SHOWING THE WAY IN THE U.S. PEACE MOVEMENT
4,000 demonstrate against nuclear testing, at the UN in New York

McCOMB, MISS., TERROR ANSWERS U.S. COURT INTEGRATION ORDER

Pattern of violence spreads in the South

By Joanne Grant

McCOMB, MISS., has demonstrated with violence that it is determined to maintain segregation, even in the face of a Federal court order. In the four days following the issuing of the order to desegregate travel facilities on Nov. 29, 11 persons were injured in seven incidents of violence.

The pattern established in other Southern cities prevailed in McComb. On the first day police were not on the scene when five Negro youths were brutally beaten and kicked out of the Greyhound terminal with shouts of: "Kill 'em! Kill 'em!" But two days later when Police Chief George Guy decided to put his 15 men to work, the McComb force, aided by two sheriffs and 10 deputies from nearby counties, was able to control a mob of 400 cursing whites while six Freedom Riders "desegregated" the bus terminal waiting room.

AID GIVEN: The five Negro Freedom Riders who were beaten—they were attacked, chased around and over counters and tables, then kicked out of the door—attributed their lack of serious injuries to the courage of local Negroes who helped them escape in taxis.

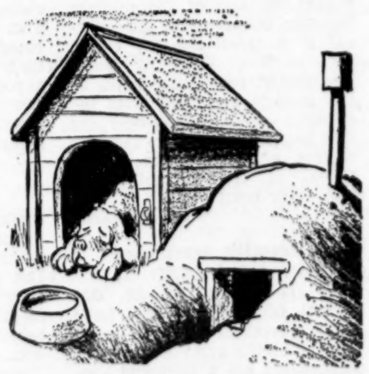
Claude Sitton, in the N.Y. **Times,** Nov. 30, reported the incident this way: "The mob tossed one youth into the air again and again in the street outside, kicking and beating him as he struck the pavement.

"Five minutes after the Negroes had escaped, Chief of Police George Guy and Patrolman Edward Smith arrived from the City Hall, less than a block from the terminal. They cleared the streets and sidewalks with little trouble."

On Dec. 1, while six Negro youths were successfully testing the bus terminal's white waiting room, angry and frustrated mobs in other parts of the city attacked four newsmen. Three were assaulted as they left the office of the local newspaper, the **Enterprise Journal.** One was knocked through a plate glass window. A fourth was beaten at City Hall and a fifth threatened by a man with a knife.

FBI WATCHES: Mayor C. H. Douglas said he had declined an offer of Federal aid made by telephone by Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy. A force of U.S. deputy marshals was standing by in New Orleans and several FBI agents and Justice Dept. officials observed events in McComb. One of the Freedom Riders reported that FBI agents who watched the beatings did

(Continued on Page 10)



Mauldin in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

In this issue

A BLOW AT HUAC
The N.Y. rally ....p. 3
ACADEMIC EXAMPLE
Cornell profs act .....p. 4
BRITONS FOR PEACE
U.S. bases protested ...p. 5
'WAR CRIMINALS'
The Bonn version .....p. 6
NUREMBERG JUSTICE
An important film ....p. 7
RADICAL TEACHING
The Summerhill school .p. 9

GUS HALL DENOUNCES EFFORT TO MAKE PARTY REGISTER

CP trial under McCarran Act is set for Feb. 1

THE COMMUNIST PARTY pleaded not guilty on Dec. 8 in Federal District Court in Washington to a charge of willfully failing to register as a foreign-dominated organization under the Internal Security Act of 1950 (known as the McCarran Act).

The plea was entered by Joseph Forer, the party's Washington attorney. Chief Judge Matthew F. McGuire granted a defense request for 30 days to file pretrial motions and set Feb. 1 as the beginning of the trial.

Gus Hall, who was elected general secretary at the party's last convention, was in the audience but was not required to appear. He declined to tell newsmen his present party status or title and in an earlier interview would not say who the party's other officers might be: "I wouldn't want to be an instrument in helping the persecution of anyone." He said the party is not going underground and that the only instance of something going underground is that "the Bill of Rights is being buried."

SRO AT CORNELL: The day before the arraignment, Hall spoke in Bailey Hall on the campus of Cornell University in Ithaca, N.Y., to a capacity audience of 2,000. Another 2,000 were turned away.

The Internal Security Act requires the party to file a registration statement listing the names and addresses of all members during the last 12 months, a record of all financial transactions in the last year, and the description and location of all printing or duplication equipment "under the control" of the party or its members. The law also deprives the organization of any tax exemptions, makes it a crime for its members to apply for a passport, bars them from government and defense jobs and requires the organization to label its mail and publications as emanating from a "communist-action" organization.

The law provides a fine of $10,000 for every day the party fails to register. The party's officers were required to regis-

(Continued on Page 3)

THE MAIL BAG
USM

Editor's Note

We have received hundreds of letters and telegrams from all over the world on the death of John T. McManus—so many that it would be impossible to print them in this space. We want all of you who have written—and the many who have sent contributions to the GUARDIAN in his memory—to know that we are deeply moved by the expression of sorrow and gratified by the concern for the GUARDIAN's future. The contributions will be acknowledged in due time.

Corridor to the UN?

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The spotlight is on corridors to West Berlin, but how about a corridor to the UN? It could be used by those who have difficulty obtaining visas, such as Konni Zilliacus and Cedric Belfrage, and also by political leaders of various countries who are not permitted entry to the U.S.

Further, those who wish to hear such visitors might be granted the use of the elegant meeting halls, and perhaps it might be possible to even hold banquets.

No Autobahns or air lanes needed—just a narrow corridor through New York harbor.

F.L.H.

Reply to Pauling

BERLIN, EAST GERMANY

My great respect for Dr. Linus Pauling prompts me, in the interest of our common desire for peace, to point out two serious misunderstandings in his recent letter, which may explain his misgivings of the Soviet tests.

He opposes the Soviet tests, because he considers them "militaristic." But the military strength and preparedness of the Soviet Union for the purpose of preserving peace must not be confused with militarism, which means the use of the military for war purposes in the interest of a small military clique, e.g., in West Germany today. His second reason for opposing the tests is his belief that the greatest period of danger for war has now passed. In fact, the danger of war, owing to the threat of German militarism, has never been greater.

Frank Loesser

Russell's arms plan

BRIXHAM, ENGLAND

In the **Times** Oct. 29, Earl Russell unfolded his plan for a world government which would control all the arms in the world. Although I am a Bertrand Russell fan, I confess I find his scheme too utopian.

Would not a treaty signed by all the great powers outlawing the manufacture and sale of arms (as the dope traffic and white slave trade is already outlawed in the more respectable parts of the world) be more in the realm of the possible?

Rhoda Clarke

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

A new study course for employers and employees has been prepared by the National Chamber of Commerce. The course contrasts principles and practices of democracy and communism. Major emphasis is on economics, but military, political, and ideological aspects of communism are also covered. Title of the course is "Freedom vs. Communism: the Economics of Survival." It involves eight discussion sessions for groups of 15 to 20 people. Course leaders need no experience.

—**News Service,** Chamber of Commerce of the U.S., Washington, D.C.

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: R. F., Brooklyn, N.Y.

Ever faithful

LONDON, ENGLAND

The peace movement of Britain is as beautiful as its flowers and its poets, and is growing tough and strong in the winds of winter.

But something is missing after so many years in "the land of the free and the home of the brave." In the old days I was a subscriber to the GUARDIAN. Later I read it in public libraries. In my last years in the States I bought it at a newsstand in Los Angeles.

I find it impossible to live without the GUARDIAN. I am sending a year's subscription to your London office and I appeal to you to put several of your last issues in the mail.

Owen Mortimer

Survival scheme

ERWIN, TENN.

Someone has suggested we send all of our children to South America or somewhere where their chances of nuclear survival would be more hopeful.

We might effect a massive exchange visit of American children and NATO children with Russia's children and those of their satellites. This should be a powerful deterrent to hydrogen war; especially if young Kennedys and Khrushchevs are included in the exchange.

Elizabeth Seeman

A plea for help

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Thank you for publishing the picture and story (GUARDIAN, Dec. 4) of the Philadelphia picketers' plight. The arrests resulted from the peaceful protest of the U.S. role in the Cuban invasion.

Funds are desperately needed to aid the defense of the four young men arrested. We urge you to send contributions to the Philadelphia Picketers Defense Committee, Box 8721, Philadelphia, Pa.

Melvin Metelits
Executive director

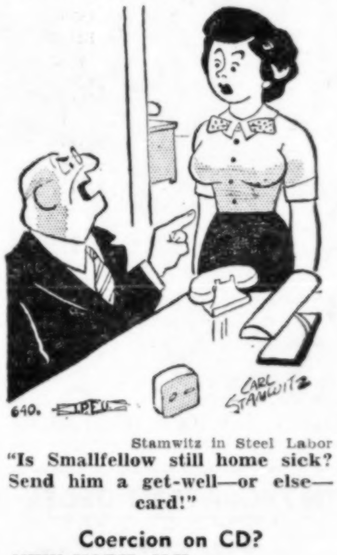
Teenage viewpoint

DORCHESTER, MASS.

When teenagers like me are criticized for not paying enough attention to world news, there is a reason. Many teens listen to the news and care, others don't. Those that do don't always pay too much attention to the broadcasts, though, because every day they hear the same kind of news—new atomic tests, twice the radiation in the air, and a chance of a third world war any day. With news like this, why would anyone want to pay attention to it? We have it worse than those who grew up in the depression. Those people felt what was happening to them but now, we feel nothing, for everything seems remote. All we know is that we are the first generation growing up with the threat of possible extermination of the world any day.

Many people falsely believe that the Soviet Union wants to declare war on us. I wish there were some way of telling them the truth.

Jane Roland



Stamwitz in Steel Labor

"Is Smallfellow still home sick? Send him a get-well—or else—card!"

Coercion on CD?

NEW YORK, N.Y.

City employees in several "emergency" departments have been coerced into becoming members of the Civil Defense. No matter how one may debate the feasibility of Civil Defense in outlying areas, for New York it is an acknowledged farce. This action in dictatorially recruiting civil servants for "civil defense" should be protested by all New Yorkers. One hopes that labor unions representing city workers will also speak up for them.

It is a totalitarian device to force us to become part of a process of deluding our community into accepting nuclear war or the insanity that there can be a Civil Defense program against megaton bombs in this metropolis or any other. We joined the **civil** service and not the military service. I hope that many voices will ring out to Mayor Wagner.

Name Withheld

Greetings to Scales

NEW YORK, N.Y.

As you know, my husband, Junius Irving Scales, is serving a six-year term after his conviction under the membership clause of the Smith Act.

Although his mail is limited during the year, at Christmas time he is permitted to receive an unlimited number of greeting cards. If you could let your readers know this some of them might like to send him their good wishes.

Junius I. Scales
Box No. PMB 28398
Lewisburg, Pa.

In addition to whatever printed message appears on the card one handwritten line of greeting is permitted.

I know Junius would be heartened to hear from known and unknown friends at Christmas.

Gladys Scales

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

VITO MARCANTONIO, chairman of the American Labor Party, was the only member of Congress to oppose U.S. intervention in the Korean civil war. Last week, with the outcry against continuation of the slaughter ringing out everywhere, he wrote in an open letter to President Truman: "The tragic consequences of the Korean conflict have taught our people that the best defense of Americans in Korea is a cease-fire now; the best protection of American lives in Korea is peace in Korea without further delay. It is not jockeying for position in Korea that will save American lives. Only cease-fire at once will . . . I am only one voice in the chorus of Americans who make the same request to you today."

The ALP prepared to use reprints of Marcantonio's letter in a drive for an immediate cease-fire. Copies were sent to all N.Y. papers. To ALP inquirers who wondered why the **Times** did not run it, spokesmen for the **Times** explained that it was "crowded out."

—From the National Guardian, Dec. 19, 1951

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JAMES ARONSON
Editor

CEDRIC BELFRAGE
Editor-in-Exile

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EDITORIAL STAFF: Lawrence Emery, Kumar Goshal, Joanne Grant, Charles Humboldt, Robert E. Light, Tabitha Petran, Edward T. Zusi, Robert Joyce, (Art), David Reif (Art Library). LIBRARIAN: Jean Norrington. CIRCULATION: George Evans. PROMOTION: Norval D. Welch. ADVERTISING and BUYING SERVICE: Lillian Kolt. GUARDIAN EVENTS: Theodora Peck. FOREIGN BUREAUS: Cedric Belfrage (Havana), Gordon Schaffer (London), Anne Bauer (Paris), George Wheeler (Prague), W. G. Burchett (Moscow), Phyllis Rosner (Rome), Edith Anderson (Berlin), Anna Louise Strong (Peking), Ursula Wassermann (Tel Aviv).

JOHN T. McMANUS (1904-1961), General Manager, 1948-1961

Vol. 14, No. 10 401 December 18, 1961

REPORT TO READERS

Agony of the Congo

THE MAIN SOURCE OF EVIL in the Congo was clearly exposed by the resignation on Dec. 2 of Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, since last June the head of the UN operation in Katanga province. Dr. O'Brien said in a statement (which was a one-day wonder in some of the press; most of the papers buried the news) that Britain and France had sabotaged UN efforts to bring stability to the Congo, and had blocked his efforts to rid Katanga of the white mercenaries ordered out by UN mandate. Belgium, he said, came out with greater honor: that government attacked him openly.

Unable to function because of the sabotage, Dr. O'Brien quit both his UN post and his job in the Irish Ministry of Foreign Affairs so that he could have full freedom of speech. He promised a book which should be a humdinger. Another banshee cry against Britain and France came Dec. 5 when Gen. Sean McKeown fully backed up Dr. O'Brien and asked to be released as commander-in-chief of the UN forces in the Congo.

Dr. O'Brien's action, and his bitter accusations the next day against the "gutter millionaires" with vast holdings in Katanga copper, produced screams of indignation in London and Paris and some fancy gutter journalism in the Beaverbrook press (Lord Beaverbrook was on Dr. O'Brien's list).

IT STIRRED ACTIVITY too on Madison Avenue in New York. American newspaper and magazine readers suddenly became aware of the existence in the rich province of Katanga of an outfit called the Union Miniere du Haut-Katanga and its parent holding company, the Societe Generale de Belgique. The Societe, it seems, has set up in New York a small company called the Belgo-American Development Corp. whose function, among other things, according to **Business Week** (Dec. 9), "is to explain the role of private industry in the Congo." Its chairman is Adm. Alan G. Kirk, former U.S. ambassador to Belgium (and to the Soviet Union).

The role of Union Miniere, however, is not unknown to GUARDIAN readers who have followed Congo events through the reports of Kumar Goshal and David Wesley. Despite the press agents' efforts to depict the Belgian-British-French mining giant as a benevolent supplier of jobs, food and housing to the Congolese, the facts are that Union Miniere has been involved in almost every piece of dirty business in the Congo since the secession (at its insistence) on July 11, 1960, of Moise Tshombe and Katanga from the new central Congo government. The list includes the murder of Premier Patrice Lumumba; the arming, paying and concealing of white mercenaries; numerous attacks on UN personnel and, according to private UN conversations (as reported by **Business Week**), of having had "an indirect hand in the airplane death of the late Dag Hammarskjold."

WITH A MEMBERSHIP including the highest officials of the British and French government and persons high in the U.S. State Dept., this "Katanga Lobby" is directly responsible—on the word of Acting UN Secretary General U Thant—for much of the turmoil in the Congo.

These are the people the Africans call the "neo-colonialists" who, seeing the handwriting on the wall, are making a last-ditch profit grab before turning their interests over (on paper) to their African stooges like Tshombe. Behind the scenes they will still call the turns in Brussels, London and Paris, where Tshombe hastened earlier this month for his instructions.

Had Hammarskjold responded to Premier Lumumba's appeal a year and a half ago for UN intervention to hold the Congo together, those who are suffering the most and ignored the most—the people of the Congo—could have been spared their continuing agony. But Hammarskjold, under pressure from the U.S. and the Western powers, refused. When he changed his mind, it was too late.

NOW THE SCANDAL IS BREAKING and Washington has become the champion of a strong central government. Why? If the central government takes control of Katanga, Washington's influence will become greater and so, no doubt, will the expectation of American profit. Hence the irritation being expressed in London and Paris, over Washington's support of the UN's stiff action in Katanga.

Then, too, with the Katanga problem out of the way, the central government, with Washington's assistance, can tackle the "problem" of Premier Gizenga and the Eastern Province of the Congo. This area, the one stable region of the Congo, under the guidance of Lumumba's former aide, is getting the customary buildup as the "gateway to communist penetration."

If this is the prospect, the Congo is in for more turmoil until the unbearable agony will produce the final explosion by the Congolese themselves.

—THE GUARDIAN

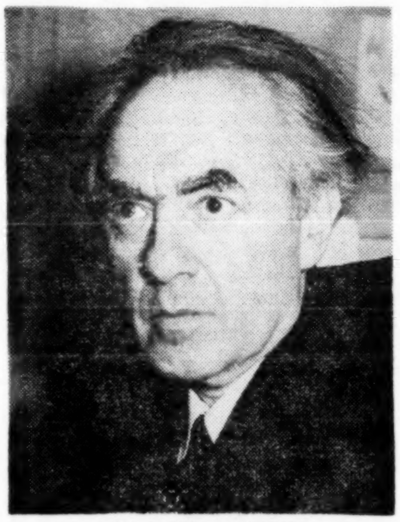
BRADEN-WILKINSON CLEMENCY URGED

3,000 at rally demand end of House un-American unit

MORE THAN 3,000 persons meeting Dec. 6 in Manhattan Center, New York called for abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee and appealed for clemency for Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson, who are serving Federal prison terms for refusing to answer HUAC questions.

The next day Dr. Otto Nathan, N.Y., abolition council chairman, and Mrs. Jean Wilkinson, took special Christmas clemency appeal petitions with 2,000 signatures to the White House. The petitions had been presented to the rally by its chairman, Prof. Fowler Harper of Yale Law School.

A telegraphed greeting from Rep. William Fitts Ryan (D-N.Y.), the only New York Congressman to vote against a HUAC appropriation last year, said: "Your meeting emphasizes the importance of constant vigilance by our citizenry to secure and safeguard civil liberties and the freedoms spelled out in the Constitution."



DR. OTTO NATHAN
He delivered the petitions

STATEMENTS READ: Two themes recurred in the speeches: (1) that civil liberties and civil rights cannot be separated and (2) that the main danger from HUAC is its drive to create a non-thinking American public.

Anne Braden, field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund and wife of Carl Braden, sent a statement read to the rally by Mrs. Wilkinson. It said: "You learn the value of civil liberties not from books, but as you seek to use them in life; we have learned by experience as we tried to work for integration in the South. We discovered that if there is to be real change in the South, there must be a civil libertarian atmosphere in the nation as a whole, and you don't have that atmosphere when congressional and state legislative committees are intimidating people and prying into their minds."

Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, Birmingham, Ala., integration leader, said in a statement read by Mark Lane, New York State Democratic Assemblyman: "We believe, in the final analysis, that the First Amendment should be first in the American way of life; that the 14th Amendment would be groundless without the First; and that there can actually be no civil rights without civil liberties.

"The so-called Un-American Committee has not hunted evil-doers, which are found in many of the Southern halls of justice and police departments; but rather, has cooperated with them to harass white and Negro citizens who take a stand for justice."

Lane announced that he would introduce a resolution in the Assembly calling upon Congress to abolish HUAC. He introduced a similar resolution last year.

PRISON MESSAGES: Greetings to the rally from Braden and Wilkinson, presented by Mrs. Wilkinson, said they had been encouraged by the knowledge that more and more Americans have protested against HUAC, as evidenced by the 10,000 signatures on clemency petitions presented in their behalf. They added: "The racists no longer have to be openly for segregation; they are now 'against subversion' as the self-appointed protectors of national security. This hypocritical pretense must be exposed."

Harper, citing the unqualified language of the First Amendment saying that Congress shall pass no law abridging freedoms of religion, speech, assembly and petition, said: "We are caught in the trap of which we were so carefully warned by the Founding Fathers and against which they tried so hard to protect us. We begin to doubt our premises."

Ring Lardner Jr., Academy Award-winning screen writer who served a year in prison for defying HUAC, said, "The goal (of the committee) is the elimination of domestic dissent, and not even the harshest critic of the committee can claim that it has not made considerable progress to that end." Lardner said HUAC is largely responsible for the self-righteousness of American public opinion and the "distorted image of the world divided into 'good guys' and 'bad guys.'" Lardner commented, "It is that state of mindlessness that we seek to abolish."

Ernest Mazey, Detroit trade union official, called on fighters for civil liberties to relate the struggle to everyday problems. He pointed out that denial of the Bill of Rights affects living standards, labor unions and their ability to organize in the South.

Inside the hall Pete Seeger sang: "Wasn't that a time to try the soul of man . . .", while outside the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the racist American National Party picketed with signs calling Seeger, Dr. Nathan and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt "red agitators."

I WAS 10 YEARS OLD WHEN MY INNOCENT FATHER MORTON SOBELL WAS IMPRISONED. MR. PRESIDENT: WILL YOU FREE HIM NOW!
Please, MR. PRESIDENT SEE ME TO HEAR A MOTHE
MR. PRESIDENT ALL MY LIFE I'VE ONLY SEEN MY FATHER MORTON SOBELL
FOR 11 YEARS MY INNOCENT HUSBAND MORTON SOBELL
DO NOT CROSS

MORTON SOBELL'S DAUGHTER, MOTHER ROSE, SON MARK AND WIFE HELEN
As the family picketed recently at the UN in New York

IN ITS FIGHT to free Morton Sobell, the Sobell Committee has scheduled an around-the-clock vigil at the White House in Washington Dec. 16-17.

The committee reports the following activities in the last few weeks: In New York a group picketed at the United Nations to ask intervention by the Human Rights Division. On Nov. 26 buses brought people from New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore to picket at the White House. Sobel has been in prison since August, 1950, on his conviction of conspiring to commit espionage.

Helen Sobell, who recently visited her husband in Atlanta after his surgery for a gall bladder condition, will take part in the Dec. 16-17 vigil with other members of the family. Special buses will leave New York for Washington at 9:30 a.m. Saturday, Dec. 16, and at 9 a.m. Sunday, Dec. 17, returning Sunday night. For information contact the Sobell Committee, 940 Broadway, New York 10, N.Y. Phone: AL 4-9983.

JUDGE BRANDS HOTEL 'UN-AMERICAN'

ECLC wins court fight to hold annual dinner at the Commodore

THE COMMODORE HOTEL in New York City was ordered by Supreme Court Justice Arthur Markewich on Dec. 7 to allow the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to hold its annual Bill of Rights dinner in its grand ballroom on Dec. 15. The judge denounced the hotel's cancellation of the affair on Dec. 1 as "indecent and un-American."

The hotel management said it had canceled the dinner after "various social, fraternal and patriotic organizations" had threatened business retaliation if the hotel were used "for the fund-raising activities of a vocal left-wing group." Judge Markewich said "this is just plain gutlessness" and added: "If you run a place of public accommodation and you make an agreement with these people, and they are going to be orderly, then you don't say: 'I disagree with what you stand for and therefore you can't use my place'."

Dr. Clark Foreman, ECLC director, said the dinner will be a "victory celebration for civil liberties in practice."

BROADER ISSUE: The New York **Times** in a lead editorial on Dec. 8 noted several recent violations of the right of free speech in the city and greeted the ECLC ruling as "one small victory." It observed that "the lawsuit involved breach of contract rather than civil rights, but the judge's comments from the bench broadened the issue."

The Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties called the cancellation "the private enforcement of the McCarran Act by pressure groups to stop free speech and assemblage for all."

In court, attorneys for the Commodore Hotel indicated that they would rather risk a suit for money damages than face the threats of business retaliation, but Judge Markewich held that it would be extremely difficult to establish the financial loss to the ECLC if the dinner were canceled. He ruled that the hotel's affidavit citing "mounting pressure" was "not a legally acceptable excuse."

Speakers at the dinner will be Carey McWilliams, editor of **The Nation**; I. F. Stone, editor of **I. F. Stone's Weekly**; Dr. Corliss Lamont and Hubert T. Delany.

GUARDIAN INVOLVED: The Commodore Hotel also canceled the GUARDIAN's reservation for the grand ballroom for a memorial meeting for John T. McManus on Dec. 12. The cancellation was made by phone on Dec. 1, three days after written confirmation of the reservation had been received. In view of the nature of the affair, it was decided to hold the memorial at another meeting place on the announced date. The GUARDIAN fully supported the ECLC court action in the knowledge that a victory would be a barrier to such arbitrary cancellations in the future.

Both cancellations were ordered by Daniel C. Hickey, vice president and general manager of the hotel.

CP trial set Feb. 1

(Continued from Page 1)

ter by Nov. 30; they can be fined $10,000 and sentenced to five years in prison for every day of failure to do so. Individual party members have until Dec. 20 to register, with the same penalties.

"A DECEPTION": In a statement distributed to newsmen Hall said:

"To enforce this law would establish a precedent for destroying every vestige of American democracy and rob Americans of those freedoms which have contributed most to the greatness of our country . . .

"Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy has tried to minimize the registration requirement with comparisons to registration in other fields such as 'sale of securities, establishment of welfare and pension plans, campaign contributions and lobbying.' Such a comparison is a deliberate and monstrous deception of the American people.

"No other registration statute compels the registrant to confess its guilt of a series of crimes which are written into the registration law but have never been proved. No other registration law contains provisions which deny members of the registrant employment in this country as well as the right to secure passports so that they may go abroad. To enforce this registration is to outlaw the Communist Party which has existed as a legal political party in this country for the past 44 years . . .

"This is the first time in American history that a political party has been summoned into a criminal court. For years the slander that the Communist Party is an agent of a foreign power has been peddled by the political bigots. At no time were they able to prove this charge in open court. And the charge was not proved in the present case. The charge is a falsehood—as false as the cry of 'witch' in 1692 in Massachusetts. Because they could not prove this vilification in court, the verdict was written into law. The verdict without due process as guaranteed by the Constitution includes 'espionage,' 'sabotage,' 'deceit,' 'force and violence,' and a whole book of major crimes.

"The fact is that this law robs the people, the voters, of the right of political choice in these United States. It denies to the people the right of political association."

**Do your Holiday Shopping with GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE
See the Bargains on Page 12**

A movie to see

The kind of reporting you find in the GUARDIAN, such as Charles Humboldt's analytical review of 'Judgment at Nuremberg,' on page 7, is what makes the paper special. Your friends need the GUARDIAN too. Do them a favor—send them an introductory sub. Just $1 for 13 weeks.

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The National Guardian
197 E. 4th St. New York 9

Cornell's profs step out of the ivory tower

By Thomas D. Benson

ITHACA, N.Y.

LEADERS OF student political parties and protest groups perennially complain about the inactivity and lack of social commitment of professors. Faculty and administration, they charge, either ignore political questions or stifle students who give voice to convictions. But a resolution passed by the faculty of Cornell University here is a deviation from this rule.

On Nov. 10, the faculty declared:

"Whereas the threat of global warfare, the state of tension existing throughout the world, and the problems of peace are matters of deep concern to the academic community of Cornell University; and

"Whereas the faculty of Cornell recognizes its obligation to itself, to the university, the nation, and the world to stimulate and encourage rational discourse on these problems and issues: Therefore be it

"Resolved: That the faculty authorize the organization . . . of campus-wide discussion and serious study of the implication of the development of nuclear weapons and of global warfare and that a committee of the faculty be appointed by the president to organize and administer events and observations."

HOW DID an Ivy League faculty decide to take a stand on the issue of war and peace? On Nov. 3, 65 Cornell professors announced their intention to devote class time on Nov. 17 to discussions of the war threat and the effects of nuclear testing. The announcement added: "We believe that it is appropriate for the academic community to express its anxiety. Civilization is in danger . . . Our conscience dictates that we raise these issues as forcefully as we can. " . . We are sending this letter to all our friends in the profession, and we are asking them, in turn, to make copies for their friends. We hope that every college and university will participate."

The professors did not need permission from either the administration or the faculty organization to carry out their plan, but they decided to seek the endorsement of the entire faculty. This led to heated debate at a meeting that drew half of Cornell's 1,100 faculty members, and to approval of the resolution quoted at the start of this article. The final resolution, while affirming the call for action, did not specifically endorse the Nov. 17 suspension of classes. Nevertheless, about 50 of the original 65 signers decided to go ahead with the discussions.

ON THE MORNING of Nov. 17, the Cornell Conservative Club sponsored a full-page in the **Cornell Daily Sun** headed "Nuclear Dangers: A Rational Approach." Apparently recognizing that they could not head off the discussions, the conservatives asked some leading questions. Samples: "After World War II, the U.S. was the only world power. What happened?"; "Doesn't the freedom of individuals depend upon the power of the U.S., both political and military?"

The discussions themselves took several forms. Some professors gave lectures relating their academic specialties to the problem. A physics professor discussed firestorms caused by nuclear explosions and the futility of fallout shelters. An arts professor spoke about the alienation of the artist from social problems. Some professors led informal talks with the students. Those involved agreed the discussion had been valuable.

Cornell President Deane W. Malott appointed Professor Stuart M. Brown Jr., chairman of the philosophy department, to head the faculty committee organizing the discussion. On Dec. 11, Brown announced that two weeks in January would be set aside for symposia, discussions and lectures on campus. Professor Hans Bethe will give the first lecture.

Since its founding as a non-sectarian institution, when it was referred to as "that godless university," Cornell has been proud of its tradition of academic freedom. Although it will probably continue to accept government contracts for research on the techniques of "limited warfare," its faculty has set an example for those at other universities.

(The writer of this article is a graduate student at Cornell. Seeking his Ph. D., he is writing a dissertation on the House Committee on Un-American Astivities. He also is co-editor of **New Freedom,** *a bulletin of student political action, Box 664, Ithaca, N.Y.)*

Peace movement

(Continued from Page 1)

Muste, Bayard Rustin and James Peck, and State Assemblyman Mark Lane, who led the fight against Rockefeller's shelter bill.

Many of the same women were among 4,000 in a two-hour demonstration against nuclear tests at the UN Dec. 1 Women and children came from all parts of the city as well as Westchester and Long Island suburbs and Westport, Conn. They carried balloons reading, "Pure Milk, Not Poison." A Scroll of Hope petition with hundreds of signatures was presented to the U.S. and Soviet ambassadors to the UN. It urged the two countries to continue negotiations for a test ban.

A delegation of 10 pregnant women went to World Health Organization offices and others called on the N.Y. Dept. of Health, the Office of Radiation Control and the U.S. Public Health Service. In each place, the women urged programs to decontaminate milk and to spread information on the threat to health of continued testing.

FIRST OF MONTH: The demonstration was organized by several informal community committees in cooperation with the Women's Strike for Peace in Washington, D.C., also an informal group which seeks to spark nation-wide actions. The success of the Dec. 1 action stimulated a meeting the next day of about 110 women from various New York communities at which they agreed to coordinate future protests. They designated the first day of every month for demonstrations at the UN.

FAMILY FALLOUT
SHELTER
EXHIBI
MONDAY - FRI
to 5
Peace
Not
Pieces
We
Want Peace

Photo by Robert Joyce

PEACE—NOT SHELTERS
At the New York CD offices

Protests against the contamination of milk by nuclear tests were also held Dec. 1 in Cleveland and Chicago. In Washington, Mrs. Dagmar Wilson, founder of the Women's Strike for Peace, led a delegation which presented a letter at the White House for President Kennedy urging that the U.S. halt tests.

In San Francisco, Women Acting for Peace was formed as a coordinating body. In a Declaration of Policy it proposed to cooperate with existing groups and to serve as a "clearing house for ideas and activities." The group hopes to spark a demonstration in Union Square during the Christmas week.

OTHER ACTIVITIES: Elsewhere on the peace front:

- Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel prize-winning biochemist, filed a $500,000 damage suit against the N.Y. **Daily News** for publishing an editorial Sept. 2, which referred to him as a "loud-mouth" in denouncing his peace activities.
- Mrs. Wayne Elwood Sr. of Palo Alto, Calif., sent $1,000—the approximate cost of a fallout shelter—to the UN. She said that the UN was the best shelter against war and that the private shelter "encourages in man the animal instinct for survival at the cost of the human principle of the brotherhood of man."

In a separate action, 28 individuals and families in North Carolina pledged to contribute the cost of a shelter to the UN.

- Peace committees in Baltimore and Philadelphia, in cooperation with Philadelphia and Lehigh Valley Quakers, will hold a peace pilgrimage Dec. 24 from Nazareth to Bethlehem in Pennsylvania. At the end of the 10-mile march, the demonstrators will sing carols and present gifts to UNICEF.

At the New York anti-shelter demonstration, a woman looked across at the small line of male sympathizers and said: "Behind every woman stands a man—but why are they so far behind?"

N.Y. meeting to draft Lane for Congress race

A RALLY to draft Assemblyman Mark Lane as Democratic Congressional candidate for the 19th Congressional District in New York City will be held on Fri. eve., Dec. 15, in P.S. 41, Avenue of the Americas and West 11th St.

ADVERTISEMENT

Save Mae Mallory!

Central to the case mounted by the State of North Carolina against five young people who participated with Rob Williams in picket lines around the Monroe, N.C., segregated swimming pool, is Mrs. Mae Mallory.

Mae Mallory is a 34-year-old Afro-American resident of New York City who went to Monroe in August to visit with her friends, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Williams.

As a result of the race riots which ensued, she and Mr. Williams, fearing for their lives, fled Monroe, and were subsequently indicted on a state charge of kidnaping and a federal charge of "fugitive from justice."

On October 17 Mrs. Mallory was arrested in Cleveland, Ohio, where she had sought asylum.

She was bailed out of jail on October 20 by the Monroe Defense Committee, and is now fighting extradition to Monroe and its lynch-mob atmosphere.

". . . We must presume that Mrs. Mallory will receive a fair trial under constituted law in the State of North Carolina." (Excerpt from Ohio Gov. Michael Di Salle's reply to Los Angeles *Herald-Dispatch* editor S. Alexander's appeal against extradition.)

The Governor of Ohio should know that a state such as North Carolina, which allows a man to be jailed on a rape charge for looking at a white woman at a distance of 70 feet; which incarcerates 8-year-old Negro children for exchanging kisses with others of that age, because they are white, and where officials in high places have made threats upon Mrs. Mallory's life, cannot be expected to provide a fair trial.

A LETTER FROM MAE . . .
(From The Crusader, *Dec. 2, 1961)*

". . . I am fighting for my life. I knew what I was doing when I went to Monroe. I have no regrets.

"These are very dangerous and trying times for our people. We have always lived in danger, but there is one big difference now: We have powerful allies that are near . . . The hearing is on Nov. 22 [since continued to Dec. 19]. I expect the worst. Someone has to be made an example of, and I suspect it will be me. I am not crying. I am in fact honored, because I know the people aways have to pay for liberty with blood, sweat and tears . . ."

MRS. MALLORY faces an executive hearing in Columbus, Ohio, on Dec. 19 in the Governor's office. Her attorney is desperately in need of funds, without which he cannot hope to defend this brave woman in her fight against extradition to North Carolina.

AS MUCH AS WE dislike to do so, particularly during the holiday season when funds are short all around, we must once again appeal for money. The fight for freedom knows no holiday, and Season's Greetings will mean little to Mrs. Mallory should she come to trial in a Union County, N.C., court.

PLEASE GIVE US whatever you can. The need is great. A woman's life is at stake.

MAKE CHECKS AND MONEY ORDERS PAYABLE TO: MONROE DEFENSE COMMITTEE

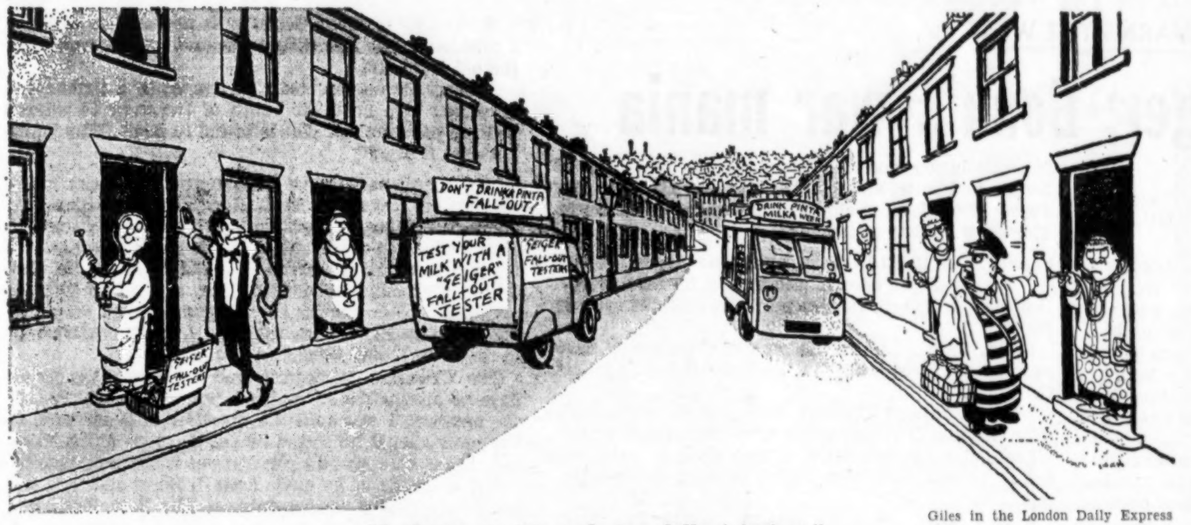
53 West 125th St., New York 27, N.Y.

Enclosed please find $ .... as my contribution

NAME ....

ADDRESS ....

CITY .... ZONE ...... STATE ....


DON'T DRINKA PINTA FALL-OUT!
TEST YOUR MILK WITH A "GEIGER" FALL-OUT TESTER
GEIGER FALL-OUT TESTERS
GEIGER FALL-OUT TESTERS
DRINK PINTA MILKA WEEK

Giles in the London Daily Express

"A plague on you and your fallout testers."

The News, at its best

EVERY TIME a Polaris nuclear submarine is launched at Groton, Conn., pacifists stage a non-violent demonstration. To counter the pacifists, the Yale chapter of Young Americans for Freedom was to stage a "Victory Walk" Dec. 8 from New Haven to Groton, ending with a demonstration in favor of a defense buildup.

In an editorial Dec. 1 on the YAF demonstration, the New York **Daily News** said:

"This strikes us as a most praiseworthy project, and we hope the YAF will put it over with a loud bang. And if some pacifist snoots should be bloodied or shins barked during the proceedings, we imagine Americans would register indignation."

ARMY OF COPS, MASS ARRESTS CURB DEMONSTRATIONS

British stage rallies at U.S. and NATO bases

Special to the Guardian

LONDON

MASSIVE CONCENTRATIONS of civil and Royal Air Force police frustrated efforts by peace demonstrators to tie up a NATO base and two U.S. Air Force bases in Britain Dec. 9. But the fact that the demonstrations were attempted against the British government's frenzied efforts to intimidate and discourage the protesters is a touchstone of the growing peace sentiment.

The demonstrations were organized by the Committee of 100, a group headed by Earl Bertrand Russell, which believes in dramatic and non-violent civil disobedience actions. Protesters were to surround bombers and bomb depots and prevent vehicles from entering or leaving the bases.

Two weeks before the demonstrations, Chief Inspector Stratton of the Special Branch (subversives squad) questioned committee members and employees of the company which prints committee material to determine who wrote the peace literature. **Peace News** reported the Special Branch had sent spies to meetings and was tapping telephones.

6,000 POLICEMEN: About 500 demonstrators went to the NATO air base at Wethersfield. They were met by 6,000 military police, patrolling the 6½-mile perimeter fence. Michael Randle and Terry Chandler, leaders of the protest, and 30 other persons were promptly arrested on charges of conspiring to violate the Official Secrets Act.

There would have been more demonstrators, but bus companies which were to run special transport canceled the trips at the last moment. Demonstrators had to take a train to Braintree and then walk or thumb rides 9 miles to the base.

At the Brize Norton U.S. Air Force base, marchers were met 200 yards from the entrance by a solid line of police in front of a steel barrier. Sixteen parade marshals were arrested. Most of the demonstrators sat down in front of the police line, but five attempted to climb a fence. A Royal Air Force officer reported: "They were repulsed."

MASS ARRESTS: About 2,000 marched on the U.S. base at Ruislip and also were met by platoons of police. They sat down outside and a shuttle service of military trucks carried them off to temporary police headquarters.

Anti-bomb rallies and marches were held in Cardiff, York, Manchester and Bristol. About 350 were arrested in Manchester. In York, Quakers joined the march in tribute to the 505 Quakers who were imprisoned for their beliefs in York Castle 300 years ago.

The support for the Committee of 100 from the most varied sections of the national life—and in the main from people not associated with left-wing movements—indicates the way public opinion in Britain is being aroused by the threats of war over Berlin. The movement has been growing steadily, and gains impetus from West Germany's opposition to a negotiated settlement.

A recent public opinion poll by the ultra-conservative **Daily Telegraph** showed that 73% believe the West should concentrate on negotiations with the U.S.S.R. rather than a buildup of arms, and that 81% favor a British initiative for a summit meeting on Berlin, nuclear tests and disarmament. The poll also reported 50% in favor of recognition of East Germany.

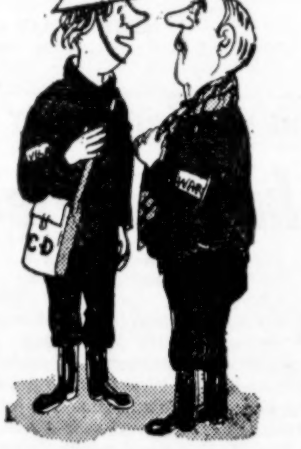
At the National Peace Congress in London on Nov. 25 and 26, the delegations were more broadly representative than at any previous peace conference. The largest groups came from unions and local committees. Messages of support were received from Canon Collins, chairman of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and from Earl Russell. A big religious delegation took part and prepared a statement which the Congress endorsed, calling on the World Council of Churches to take action for peace.

DRIVE PLANNED: The program adopted provided for pressure on the government, Labor party leaders and MPs of all parties, and for a great education campaign to inspire people with confidence that they can impose their will.

The Congress hailed the resolution of the UN Assembly condemning nuclear weapons, and deplored and condemned the opposition of the British UN representative. Already the left group of labor MPs has offered a motion in Commons supporting the UN action.

Tribune, the left Labor weekly, summed up in these words: "The UN historic decision is now bound to have serious repercussions within the Labor Party, which is firmly committed to make support for the UN the cornerstone of its foreign policy. Can it do so now that the UN has denounced in the strongest possible terms the use of nuclear weapons? Can it do so, while still clinging to a philosophy which turns on a readiness, in certain circumstances, to do the very thing the General Assembly denounces as inconsistent with UN membership? Is the UN to be Labor's cornerstone only when the decisions coincide with those of Hugh Gaitskell?"

Ivor Montagu reminded the London Peace Congress that the UN resolution marks the final acceptance by the majority of mankind of the Stockholm appeal against the bomb launched more than 11 years ago—the first mass activity of the world peace movement.



Belsky in the London Daily Herald

"If I had one of those big pool wins I'd buy one of those anti-fallout shelters with it. So I could live to enjoy the money."

British women request suicide drugs for war use

LONDON, Dec. 4 (UPI)—A woman doctor said yesterday that mothers and grandmothers are asking her for drugs to kill their families painlessly in the event of nuclear war.

"These women are not hysterical or neurotic, but sensible logical people," Dr. Phyllis Dobbs wrote in a letter to the British Medical Journal. "They don't seem to be thinking of themselves. They are genuinely worried about their families being left to die after a nuclear conflict."

Dr. Dobbs said she was sympathetic, but refused the requests.

—N.Y. **Times**, Dec. 5

. . . And now, the Trapped Family Singers

By Cook Glassgold

IN ALL the descriptions on how to prepare oneself for life in a fallout shelter I have seen no mention of music-making to while away the tedium. This oversight must be rectified. There can be no disputing the morale-lifting effect of the trapped family raising its voices in a Bach chorale or tossing off a sprightly Mozart quartet.

Few American families are musically trained or have funds for instruments and instruction. Therefore, the Federal government should at once allocate $7 billion for a crash music program—cymbals and all. Instruments, music and instruction would be free. Participation in the program would be mandatory.

Since most family shelters will be of modest size (except in Hollywood, where swimming pools seem imperative) I would advise against grand pianos, bull fiddles or tympani. Band-type instruments such as the harmonica, ocarina, recorder and piccolo are recommended. These have one slight drawback. They induce deep breathing which, with the supply of oxygen available in most shelters, might prove to be fatal.

On further consideration, it might be best to settle for guitars and ukuleles. But whatever the instruments, there is no time to waste. The enemy is at our gates. We must initiate the program now—especially since it takes some people weeks if not months to learn one of these instruments.

Those with no aptitude for playing an instrument should get ear and voice training. This requirement should be obvious. "Down by the Old Filled Stream" would be intolerable sung off key amid the tensions of a two-week confinement.

Not to be overlooked is the provision by the Federal Government of song books with lyrics suiting the occasion. The following are suggested:

Silent night, wholly night
All is fear, all is fright
Round my mother, my wife and my
child
Burning fire-storm, raging and wild
Why can't you leave us in peace?
Why can't you leave us in peace?

You're now at rest, my gentlemen
And nought can you dismay
For it was we who sprung the bomb
Upon this very day
To save you all from Commie power
We feared had come to stay
Oh . . . tidings of comfort and joy . . .
etc.

A puny fortress is our hole
A bulwark sadly failing
For still our common foe
Doth cruelly work its woe
The power of a bomb is great
And armed with radiant hate
On earth is not its equal.

Swing low you fire ball
Comin' to consume my home
Swing low you blast and all
Comin' to reduce my home.
I look over Brooklyn and what do I see
Homing in on target near my home
IC some BM missiles comin' straight
at me
Holy smoke! And that was once my
home.

AN MP VISITS BERLIN, THEN WARNS THE WEST

The big danger: Bonn's war mania

By Harold Davies, MP

(This is the story of British MP Davies' visit to West Germany as told, in an interview, to GUARDIAN staff correspondent Gordon Schaffer.)

LONDON

I HAVE JUST RETURNED from a visit to Western Germany and West Berlin. I went there on a purely private visit because I felt as a Member of Parliament and a member of the foreign affairs group of the Parliamentary Labor Party, I had a duty to see for myself how the people of West Germany are reacting to a situation that can lead us all in the ultimate horror of nuclear war. I came back convinced that the urgent need is for the Western powers to cease surrendering to every demand of the West German leaders and to take a firm initiative for a peaceful settlement based on the realities of a divided Germany. One thing is clear—there can be no settlement on the basis of the demands consistently put forward in Bonn and West Berlin.

I walked through West Berlin, saw the shops stuffed with luxury goods, outstripping the West End of London and Paris, and felt that this was a more vulgar display of top-level wealth than anywhere in the world. This was the gaiety of fatalism.

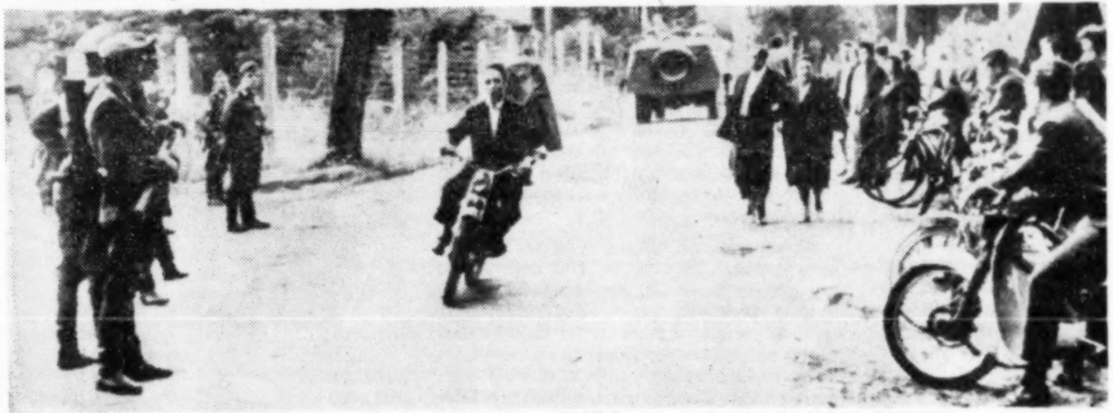
I ASKED A BERLINER, a man who knows we are playing on the edge of catastrophe, how the situation could be solved. He shrugged and said, "It is up to the West."

I said, "In what way?" He replied, "You should have smashed down the wall (the Berlin wall built by East Germany)."

"And what then?" I asked. Again the shrug. "I don't think the East Germans would have replied with force."

I talked to another Berliner. The West, he says, has a duty to subsidize West Berlin to keep its economy going.

When I talked about the responsibility for two world wars, the need to learn from the mistakes of the past, the fear of a revival of German militarism, the idea of disengagement, there was little response.



BAITING EAST GERMAN BORDER GUARDS IS A GAME IN WEST BERLIN

The West German youths ride motorcycles within inches of the guards on a street which the border cuts in half—the long way.

When I asked what Germany is prepared to offer as a solution, I was met with a demand for restoration of the old frontiers.

Another German quoted a statement by a Swiss businessman: "We need the youth of Germany to defend us from communism. War is bound to come. Why wait? Let's get it over."

THE Germans I have quoted are the vocal ones. Most are just acquiescent. They have no constructive alternative. They are getting all they can as they live on the edge of the volcano. But they are ready material for pan-German militarism. I found most of the students completely disillusioned. They are fed up with all politicians. They realize subconsciously that they are due to be sacrificed, but they have no alternative and so they think only of material things.

The Christian Democrats and the Free Democrats have no alternative to the Bonn policy. When I pressed for answers, I was told the question of peace and of Germany should be solved by the Western allies. "You defeated Germany; now you can put it together again."

The demands being made both in Bonn and in West Berlin are clearly unacceptable to the East. They demand that the Western powers stay in West Berlin. They insist on economic support of West Berlin, freedom of access without controls, and recognition of West Berlin as part of West Germany.

It was a frightening picture. It reminded me of the atmosphere I found during visits to Germany in the last days of the Weimar Republic, when Hitler was bludgeoning his way to power. Any serious student of the world situation must know that if the Western powers give way to this German refusal to discuss a realistic solution, the dangers of war will grow.

Did they understand that if war came they would be the first victims? Yes, they finished the most bellicose statements with the declaration that they were ready for negotiations and want peace. They realized any overt act against East Germany would mean the third world war. They are playing with fire, but they don't really believe the consequences will go beyond the stage of words.

The terrible danger arises from lack of leadership in the West. One German said to me, "Why even President Kennedy is asking us what he should do."

I say with complete conviction that the greatest danger is for us to permit the German situation to drift nearer and nearer to disaster because Britain and the U.S. allow West Germany to dictate their policies.

THE VRACARIC ARREST DISCLOSES WARRANTS FOR 1,200

In West Germany, a 'war criminal' is an anti-Nazi partisan

By Edith Anderson
Guardian staff correspondent

BERLIN

AT 6:30 A.M. NOV. 2, the Milwaukee-born Yugoslav ex-partisan Lazar Vracaric was awakened in a Munich hotel room by four West German detectives who pointed pistols at him and ordered, "Hands up!" As the 44-year-old director of the Me-Ga metal goods factory in Zagreb sat in the bed with his hands raised, they frisked him and went through his baggage. Half an hour later he was fingerprinted—seven prints for each finger and seven more for the whole hand, a procedure used only with common criminals. Then he was placed in solitary confinement, led to hearings in handcuffs, and not permitted to have a lawyer.

In September, 1941, Capt. Vracaric had shot two German occupation soldiers in the line of duty. A warrant for his arrest was issued on Oct. 30, 1941, by the Nazis. It was renewed 20 years later in April, 1961, by the West German Federal Court.

"A deplorable individual case," said a spokesman for the Bonn Ministry of Justice, after the hue and cry raised by resistance veterans all over Europe compelled Vracaric's release on Nov. 6.

NAZIS' LIST: But Vracaric's was only one of more than 1,200 names of former partisans on a "wanted" list taken over from Nazi files and confirmed in the last few months by the Third Senate of the West German Federal Court, which issued warrants for their arrest. To discover their whereabouts, the Federal Criminal Office passed on the list at the start of 1961 to Interpol, a detective agency that co-ordinates European police activity, under the pretext that those listed were felons.

As early as 1960, however, Vracaric had been arrested while on a business trip to Switzerland by Zurich cantonal police, who let him go when he identified himself as a former resistance fighter. But in April, 1961, the Swiss police got in touch with West German police about Vracaric "because his name was on a wanted list," according to a UPI dispatch from Berne on Nov. 11. On May 19, 1961, the Bonn Federal Court declared the arrest warrants of 1941 "legal" and assigned the Vracaric case to the State Prosecutor's Office in Constance. On June 16 the Constance justice authorities issued a warrant for his arrest. The West German secret service was informed Vracaric was planning a business trip in November to Germany. He checked in at a Munich hotel Nov. 1 and 15 hours later was arrested for "murder."

YUGOSLAV NOTE: The Yugoslav government sent a sharp protest to Bonn and notes to all the nations of the anti-Hitler coalition. Expressions of public outrage filled the newspapers, especially in Norway and Denmark. Foreign Minister Halvard Lange of Norway spoke in Parliament of "the regret and shock" of his government. A spokesman of the Bonn Embassy in Norway coolly told a reporter that there was no guarantee "that Norwegian resistance fighters might not also be arrested in West Germany on the same charges as Vracaric."

When Defense Minister Poul Hansen of Denmark said he feared Vracaric's arrest might jeopardize the planned Danish-West German united military command, West German Defense Minister Franz Josef Strauss declared that the united command was in the interest of both countries and "no present from Denmark to Germany." In an interview with a Danish paper on Nov. 8 Strauss equated anti-fascist partisans with war criminals, saying he was against any law "which exonerated war crimes committed against Germans, but punished war crimes committed by Germans."

The West German **Kieler Nachrichten** of Nov. 9 called Vracaric's arrest "an impressive proof of the thoroughness with which the German judicial authorities do their job." The **Deutsche Soldatenzeitung** of Nov. 10 said, "We must hope that the German authorities remain firm, and that following Vracaric, all other partisans upon whom we can get our hands will be sentenced to stern and just punishment."

'FREAK' CASE: When Europe's protests rose to an uproar and Vracaric had to be released, all sorts of contradictory statements about the wanted list were issued by Bonn officials and newspapers. There was no list. There was no **valid** list. There was no way of **canceling** the list. The list was only an archive. It could only be used by the German justice machine in response to the alarm from Switzerland. The case was a freak—"a deplorable individual case."

On Nov. 6 Vracaric was released from prison but not permitted to leave Munich. On Nov. 7 his passport was handed back to him. In Belgrade he told the ADN correspondent his arrest was "no accidental mistake by the West German judiciary authorities, but an attempt to drag into the dock everyone who had fought actively against fascism."

Vracaric was not the first Yugoslav partisan to be arrested in West Germany. On May 30, 1957, Semso Kapetanowitz was arrested by West German detectives in Munich. He was released after a Yugoslav protest.

CIA ROLE: The United States helped supply Bonn with the Yugoslav names on its wanted list, according to the East German **Berliner Zeitung** of Nov. 9. "On the basis of decisions of the NATO Council meeting in December, 1956, the American CIA and the British Intelligence service handed over to the West German secret service lists of the Communist partisans who became known to them through contacts and during munitions deliveries to Yugoslavia during World War II," the paper wrote.

About 21,500 Yugoslavs were deported to Nazi concentration camps during the war. They included Vracaric's brother Milivoi, who was murdered there. One of those responsible for the deportation order was Dr. Walter Weber, a Ribbentrop assistant who today is Bonn's ambassador to Egypt.

The existence in West Germany of arrest warrants for 1,200 European partisans may be appalling, but it does not surprise those who know that 70% of West Germany's judges and state attorneys were active in the Nazi judiciary system. Hundreds of German concentration camp veterans have been re-arrested and imprisoned by the West German courts in the last 10 years for persisting in their anti-fascist convictions. In a case reported Nov. 2, the worker Emil Tomy had his "police record" from Nazi days read as evidence in the Dortmund Political Penal Chamber, where he was being tried for advocating rapproachment between the workers of the two German states. Hitler records are being used frequently in such cases.

The blitz plan

A FRIGHTENING — and well documented—story of the resurgence of German militarism is told in the pamphlet **The Strategy of Revenge, the New Blitz Plan of the German General Staff,** by Ernst Henri, European journalist and long a student of German politics.

Henri reveals the Germany of Chancellor Adenauer as the strongest military power of Western Europe, the spearhead of NATO, with plans of its own for a nuclear war of revenge. The facts brought out are indispensable to an understanding of the German question. The pamphlet was issued by New Century Publishers, 832 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.

'JUDGMENT AT NUREMBERG' OFFERS A PROPHETIC WARNING

A film about Nazis—for Americans

BURT LANCASTER'S BIG SCENE IN THE NUREMBERG DRAMA
As defendant Ernst Janning (standing, rear center), he "explains" his guilt

By Charles Humboldt

OF ALL THE FILMS made in the U.S. since World War II, **Judgment at Nuremberg** is the one that the American people **must** see. It is the only one which, if many millions saw and understood it and applied its message to our country, could save us from national shame and national disaster.

Judgment at Nuremberg is the dramatization by Abby Mann, scriptwriter, and Stanley Kramer, producer and director, of the 1947 "Justice case," a trial before a military tribunal in Nuremberg of 15 major figures in the former Nazi Ministry of Justice. Four of the defendants selected by Mann for his screenplay were sentenced to life imprisonment, others to lesser terms; one or two were acquitted. None is now serving his term, nor as the film tells us, is a single one in jail of the 99 who were convicted in the 12 U.S. military trials of second-string Nazi leaders which ended in 1949.

The words of the prosecutor's opening statement are identical with those of Chief of Counsel Brig. Gen. Telford Taylor on March 5, 1947: "This case is unusual in that the defendants are charged with crimes committed in the name of the law. These men were the embodiment of what passed for justice in the Third Reich." Having established the nature of the charge, Mann then had to perform a huge editing job. Faced with a trial record of 10,964 pages, he had to condense testimony and interrogation, cut to the essence of conflicting arguments, amalgamate characters, etc. He also made certain changes so that the proceedings would come to life as a matter of present concern. Of these perhaps the most significant and the one requiring the greatest courage was the introduction of the Berlin crisis and of the first airlift, which did not occur until the next year, 1948.

EMPLOYING this "discrepancy," **Judgment** ceases to be simply a recapitulation of the monstrous acts of others, arousing the complacent horror of spectators distant in place and time. It becomes a prophetic warning to every citizen of **this** country: to the President, the Congress, the Supreme Court and all lesser judges, the military, the police, the Big Money, the string-pullers, and, finally, to every working man and woman.

The film revives memories of crimes against humanity which our government wishes to forget, since it has freed all the perpetrators. It challenges the official U.S. policy of befriending German fascists and revenge-seekers as though the survival of our country depended upon their support of what is called our "posture" vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. It calls into question, by clearest implication, decisions of the Supreme Court upholding the Smith and McCarran Acts, and politically motivated verdicts and sentences of our judiciary, reminding us that such violations of civil liberties and rights led to fascism and flourished in its shadow. In the course of the trial, we are made to see how religious, racial and political repression led to the murder of millions, and that the ladder of guilt has a rung for everyone who does not resist tyranny against his fellow man.

Some may think that writer and director have abused their artistic franchise by asserting in effect that justice, or its opposite, is as indivisible here as in the Germany of the Thirties. Let us recall that the six concentration camps already built for U.S. political prisoners—at Tule Lake, Calif.; Florence and Wickenburg, Ariz.; El Reno, Okla.; Avon Park, Fla., and Allenwood, Pa.—are the brain children of Senators Douglas of Ill., Humphey of Minn., Kefauver of Tenn., Kilgore of W. Va., and former Senators Lehman of N.Y. and Graham of N.C., all of the so-called liberal wing. The camps were born in September, 1950, during debate on the McCarran Act, under which the Communist Party has just been indicted.

OTHER ANALOGIES come to mind. As Judge Haywood (Spencer Tracy) studies the respectable record of the humanist Ernst Janning (Burt Lancaster) who became Minister of Justice in the Third Reich, inevitably one thinks of similarly respectable men on the bench of the highest court in our land who, out of misdirected love of country and the excuse of emergency, have opened the gate of terror. As for the prosecutors and judges who have martyred by the hundreds workers, Negroes and seekers of a better life for all—are they not involved in Haywood's judgment: "The prostitution of a judicial system for the accomplishment of criminal ends involves an element of evil to the State which is not found in frank atrocities which do not sully judicial robes"?

Correlative to the theme of legal crime is the examination of the concept that justice is subordinate to policy and, by extension, to military strategy. We watch the prosecutor, Col. Lawson (Richard Widmark), bitter when the American commander of the occupying forces puts pressure on him to go easy because ". . . you don't get the support of the German people by sentencing their leaders to stiff prison sentences." We see an American senator and a fellow judge failing to persuade Haywood to pass a verdict of not guilty on the men in the dock (three of whom were described in the original trial as "sadistic, evil and ruthless"). Finally we hear the young defense counsel, Rolfe (Maximilian Schell), a former Hitler youth leader, telling Haywood that most of the criminals in the I. G. Farben trial have just been acquitted by judges who saw the light.

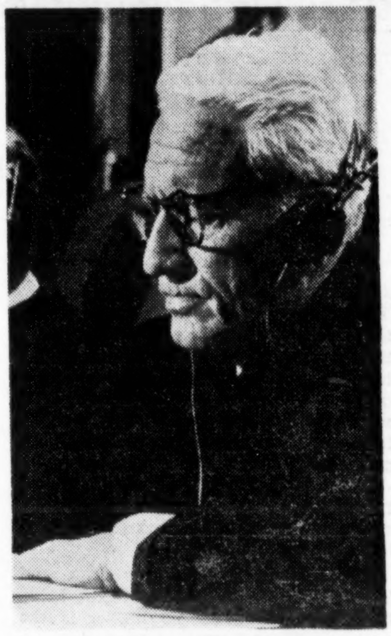
IF I HAVE GIVEN what ordinarily would be undue emphasis to a film's ideas, it is because Kramer has time and again, with uneven but increasing success, been wrestling with the intricate problems of the film of ideas; still more, because here thoughtfulness has turned what might have been a spectacle leading us away from present realities into a brilliant instrument for coping with them.

But **Judgment** also gives us intimate portraits of the German situation without which no political lesson is worth while. From every minor character—from servant, chauffeur, waiter, small shopowner—we know that, because of our studied policy of forgive-and-forget, two years after the Gotterdammerung Hitler's sheep were again fear-filled, while his wolves were already champing for a Second Coming. In Mme. Bertholt (Marlene Dietrich), the widow of a general hanged for his part in the Malmedy massacre, we see how Junkers imagined that their respect for soldierly tradition and aristocratic disdain for the "bourgeois" Hitler cleared them of responsibility for having carried out his orders. The cultured Mme. Bertholt, pleading for Judge Haywood's understanding, shocks him unwittingly by her ironic reference to the prosecutor's showing of concentration camp and atrocity films as "Colonel Lawson's chamber of horrors." When she realizes that Haywood, however reluctantly because he is almost in love with her, might be weighing her role in the West German conspiracy of ignorance, she is appalled. The fact that this and similar scenes are not handled satirically, but with empathy, greatly sharpens the focus on their social context.

Even defense counsel Rolfe, the smiler with the knife, has a human rope to hang himself with. His hypocrisy is most dangerous because he has faith in his lying. He quotes Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes to justify sterilization for hereditary mental defectives—forgetting that in this case the subject was a normal young worker (Montgomery Clift), the son of a Communist.

JUDY GARLAND ON THE STAND
She tells of a frame-up

In another crucial scene, Rolfe is cross-examining a witness (Judy Garland) whose elderly Jewish friend had been framed and executed in 1936 for "racial defilement." Rolfe baits her so brutally that his own client, Janning, rises to repudiate him. "He has suggested," says Janning, "that the old Jew did sleep with the 16-year-old girl after all." And he proceeds to a devastating exposure of Rolfe's attempt to justify every Nazi crime by citing a Nazi law under which it was properly committed.



THE JUDGE AT NUREMBERG
Spencer Tracy in a key role

Beautiful is the irony of Rolfe's concluding speech: the world is blamed for producing the men he defends; while they appear as patriots who kept the home fires burning when the cowardly exiles deserted the Fatherland.

ERNST JANNING'S prototype, Acting Minister of Justice Schlegelberger, was a righteous wretch. The portrait of the self-accuser Janning suffers somewhat because he is made to serve a purpose far larger than his original, and Lancaster's acting is not flexible enough for the role. But the important thing here is Janning's speech showing the contagious decay of thinking which enabled men like him to trample upon the human values and the freedom they used to boast they were elected to preserve.

"A passing danger had become a way of life," he says. Yet at the very end, when Judge Haywood visits him in his cell, he is still deluded. "Those people," he pleads. "All those people. I never knew it would come to that. You must believe it. You must believe it." Haywood tells him: "Herr Janning, it came to that the first time you sentenced a man to death you knew to be innocent."

Haywood is, of course, the pivot for the American dilemma and a projection for its resolution. A former district judge in Maine, he is small potatoes as the world goes. He has not been above the winking and scraping that a safe man considers normal to his office. He is aware of his provinciality and suspects that he has been picked for this trial because of it. But he is a rocky sort of man against whom little lies get bruised. When a big lie called "survival" interposes itself against the testimony he has heard, he asks: "Survival of what?" The trial has been his latter-day education. As he listens to that angry man, Col. Lawson, deliver his faltering summation, he realizes that the German sickness is our infection, too. His court opinion is a first step toward public health, as the Mann-Kramer film is our cinema's massive experiment in preventive medicine.

McManus memorial meeting in Los Angeles Dec. 20

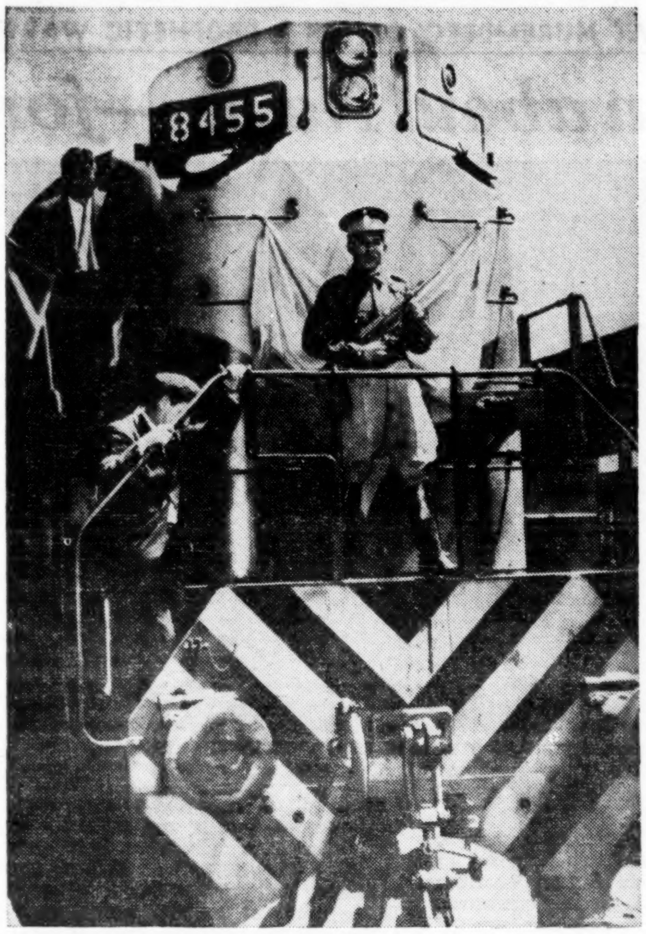
A MEMORIAL meeting for John T. McManus will be held Dec. 20 at 8 p.m. at Channing Hall, 2936 W. 8th St., Los Angeles, Calif.

Speakers at the memorial, sponsored by the Los Angeles National Guardian Committee, will be Reuben Borough, Rose Chernin for the Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Hugh De Lacy and Widge Newman for the Los Angeles Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell. Pianist Waldemar Hille will play.

Admission will be $1, students 50c. There will be no collection, but the audience will be asked to subscribe to a John T. McManus Memorial Fund.

BIG BUSINESS, THE MILITARY AND THE CHURCH

Reactionaries hold the reins in strike-plagued Argentina



Running a train in Argentina is a military operation in the face of a general strike aimed against the government. Back of the walkout are the deeper issues of whether the Frondizi government is going to return to private hands some of the industries nationalized during the Peron regime. About 75,000 face loss of jobs in the railway situation.

By Ursula Wassermann
Guardian staff correspondent

BUENOS AIRES

THE RAILWAY STRIKE continues with no solution in sight, although the first concessions have been made by the government in the offer of a 20% increase in pay. This concession was won in large measure by the 72-hour general solidarity strike which totally paralyzed industry early last month. Although the government is running some scab trains—one was attacked and burned by unionists at Santa Fé—the public has little confidence in a railway run by strikebreakers.

The railway conflict goes deep, and the question of wages has become fairly minor. The crux of the matter is the government's proposal to de-nationalize the "non-essential" services of the railway system. These include all train dining services, station refreshment centers, cleaning services for coaches and railway repair shops. The plan would end the jobs of 75,000 of the 220,000 rail men now employed.

BASIC FIGHT: While it is true that the railways, since they were bought from the British under Peron, have always run at a deficit, and the service has deteriorated, the government's proposal is looked upon with suspicion as a first step in the complete return of a national industry to private hands. With the example of many other industries—such as the former Nazi assets—nationalized under Peron and since returned to their previous owners, the unions have reason to be suspicious of any attempt at denationalization.

The basic argument thus involves the country's social structure. When the Left in 1954 decided to plug Arturo Frondizi—finally elected to the presidency in 1958—it did so in the hope of retaining the social gains achieved under Juan D. Peron without repeating the Peron errors. However, the Frondizi administration began to sign contracts with international oil companies similar to those through which Peron opened the country up to foreign firms. The oil cartels were soon followed by the automakers, so that now practically every type of foreign car is assembled here, and the infant national industry has been brought to a standstill. The new politicians became the **nouveaux riches**; the military, supporting them, took over the directors' posts in international monopolies; managers of the same companies got key government jobs.

Minister of Public Works and Services Acevedo, for example, is also the lawyer for Republic Steel and Thyssen, while Roman Frondizi, the president's nephew, has a million-peso office as manager of foreign enterprises. The president himself is said to be associated with Mazar Barnett, who undertakes large-scale enterprises on contract from the Ministry of Public Works. Moreover, Barnett is a director of large national banks, despite his self-professed ignorance of financial matters.

PRICES SOAR: If the Left in general and the unions in particular have dissociated themselves from the Frondizi regime, these reasons would appear sufficient, even if they were not accompanied by a rising cost-of-living. With 1943 as a base of 100, the general cost of living has risen between December, 1960, and August, 1961, from 3,500 to 4,200, while the cost of food has risen from 4,200 to 5,000. In addition, imports exceeded exports during most of 1960, and the trend has persisted this year.

The situation reflects the growing power of big business and its allies in the armed forces and the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Early in October, the inter-American study course on Counter-revolutionary Warfare was opened at the War College at Buenos Aires, attended by delegations from Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela and, of course, the United States. Gen. Carlos J. Turolo, in his opening address, remarked that the main aim was to study methods of struggle against "the greatest enemy of our way of life—communism." Regretting the absence of "our sister nation—Cuba—for reasons, which, God willing, will be highly temporary," Turolo reflected the current slogan of South American reaction—"Cristo Si—Cuba No."

PRESSURE IS ON: The opening of the War College course coincided with the publication of the so-called Cuban documents, purporting to prove a Fidelista conspiracy to overthrow the Argentine government. These documents were such obvious fabrications that Dr. Garcia del Solar of the Argentina Foreign Office, felt obliged to describe them "toilet paper." However, the press plugged the forgeries for all they were worth.

The armed forces had already "demanded explanation" from the president at the time of Che Guevara's visit here in August.

So far, the government has not given in with regard to Cuba, despite the pressure. But with Venezuela's breach of diplomatic relations, only seven Latin American countries still maintain official contact with Havana. Linked to foreign monopolies and subject to foreign pressure, how long can Argentina hold out?

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THE DESIRE FOR PEACE burns deep in the hearts of all American workers. Decisive action can fan this flame, sweep from American life the forces of war that seek to drive our nation into an atomic holocaust.

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We call upon every progressive American to join with the mighty world peace movement by coming out with us in a demonstration against Nazi revenge seekers and for a peaceful settlement on Berlin.

ACT NOW! On Saturday, December 23, at 11 a.m., there will be a picket line in front of the West German Consulate, 460 Park Ave., in New York in honor of the American soldiers who gave their lives in the historic Battle of the Bulge.

ON THE AFTERNOON of December 23, in Herald Square, New York, signatures will be gathered on petitions to labor leaders Mike Quill, Joe Curran, A. Philip Randolph and Harry van Arsdale, asking them to demand in the name of the working people that President Kennedy meet with Premier Khrushchev to solve the Berlin crisis.

NAZI GERMANY AND ITS WAR GUILT

THE main cause of the tensions and war strains in the world is the growing (American-financed) economic revival of the West German industrial war lords and Nazi barbarians. The fusion between American bankers and their German counterparts not only intensifies world frictions, but is bringing unemployment and hardships to American workers.

Twice in one generation Germany has started world wars. "Our German ally" is a two-headed monster; it threatens the Communists in the East, but the monster will recoil and strike at us with the new fangs of atomic arms. Woe be to England, France, and especially the United States if we rearm the Germans with rockets and atomic warheads.

Twenty years ago this month there began for Americans the most terrible war our country has ever engaged in. The "Anti-Comintern" Axis launched Pearl Harbor. What mother or father, wife or sweetheart can forget the horror that seized our hearts at Christmas time, 1944, at the time of Bastogne, the Bulge? We pledged then that we would never let Germany come back to plague the world. Yet today we are not only rearming Germany, but the same butchers who directed the last war are being given the freedom and power to plot once more against the security of our country and loved ones.

THE WAR CRIMINALS ARE FREE AGAIN!

Over 100 Nazi officials, convicted of crimes against humanity, have been released; many have been returned to positions of power. The billionaires who directly financed and profited from Hitler's orgies are again directing and organizing German society:

Alfred Felix Alwyn Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, owner of the Krupp industrial empire, charged with responsibility for the deaths of thousands of slave workers and released from prison in 1951, is now more powerful and richer than ever.

Gerhard Schroeder, who became a Hitler storm-trooper in 1933 and a Nazi Party member in 1937, is now Foreign Minister.

Colonel Joachim Peiper, triggerman of the Malmedy massacre, was sentenced to death, paroled in 1955, and is once again active in neo-Nazi circles!

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BOOKS

Happy learning

AT SUMMERHILL, FREEDOM IS FIRST
The experiment is keyed to democracy

THERE ARE FEW areas of discussion that engender as much heat as the field of education. Ideas are partisan and almost everyone considers himself an expert. Periodically, cries arise that "children aren't being taught to read," "they have no manners," "they're undisciplined," and there is a spate of articles that say nothing new. School districts concentrate on one of the tool subjects (reading or arithmetic) and life for the pupils goes on as in the past, with no evidence that children are happier than before.

It is therefore a pleasure to read **Summerhill, a Radical Approach to Rearing Children,*** a work by a courageous educator who challenges authoritarian forms of education. For more than 40 years, A. S. Neill, headmaster of Summerhill (100 miles from London), has conducted a school where children are free. The commandment enunciated by Neill, "Thou shalt be on the child's side," is the core of Summerhill's success. There is a belief in the goodness of children and respect for each child's personality. Neill aims for the happiness of the pupils. The usual types of prescribed learning do not exist. There are no forced studies, no examinations, no marks, though the school does provide courses in mathematics, history, geography, and time is spent on art, ceramics, metal and other shop work.

IN EVALUATING Neill's views, shibboleths must be cast aside. One hears parents say, "Of course, I don't believe in the IQ, but it does show something." Summerhill's children are not "IQed," and since Neill knows what happens to them he gives a picture of what they do after Summerhill. The important thing is that Summerhill's 45 children, most of them from middle-class families, enjoy their childhood without any impairment of their ability to earn a living. Neill respects all labor, and a precision instrument maker is as much a success to him as an orchestra instrumentalist or a mathematician.

Summerhill's children are fortunate in other respects. There is a kind of parliament at the school and the vote of the tiniest child is equal to the vote of a teacher or the headmaster. There are other schools that ostensibly practice democratic forms, but in subtle or overt ways the adults always come out on top. At Summerhill, the children can vote down the staff. The description of how general meetings are run at the school is alone worth the price of the book. Because they themselves vote the decisions, the children have a loyalty to their own democracy that is amazing. Many schools have called themselves "progressive" because children on occasion have something to say about their fate. Neill says no school can call itself progressive that has no self-government.

Says Neill, "When there is a boss, there is no real freedom. This applies even more to the benevolent boss than to the disciplinarian. The child of spirit can rebel against the hard boss, but the soft boss merely makes the child impotently soft and unsure of his feelings." The authority for Summerhill children is the authority of the community and they accept decisions with equanimity.

NEILL MAKES CLEAR that freedom for children does not mean the license to bring injury to others. He sums up his concept: "In the disciplined home, the children have no rights. In the spoiled home, they have all the rights. The proper home is one in which children and adults have equal rights. And the same applies to school."

In reply to those who ask, "How do they learn? How are they given good habits?" Neill contends that children learn best when they want to learn, and that Summerhill pupils pass Oxford exams when they want to pass them. Education without fear is the watchword at Summerhill. The frustrations of children forced to take subjects in which they repeatedly fail are well known. Must learning be an agony? Neill answers in the negative and his 40 years of experience in making children happy is a challenge to all interested in children.

EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES are hard to change. The cry for corporal punishment continues and many school systems approve methods that should have been discarded with feudalism. Schools in the main are society's image, and since employers want docile conformers, radical ideas such as Neill's are out. For teachers the daily grind and fears generated by supervisors keep thought confined to the safest ways. There is clamor about such things as buildings, but no search for ways of making school a place of joy.

One doesn't have to agree with everything Neill says (such as his Freudianism) to enjoy a sortie into a world where children love to be. Neill is not run-of-the-mill in anything. He is an internationalist who believes "we are living in an insane society." He hates war and all preparations for it. He is not trying to educate children for the order as it exists. He wants his children to have values beyond the material. He believes in full human development and his uncompromising honesty is something to admire.

For those who want to know whether there can be Summerhills on a grand scale, this reviewer must answer, "No." No society is ready for it. Teachers and parents aren't ready for it. But don't miss the excitement of reading the delightful experiences of this radical educator.

—Alice Citron

**SUMMERHILL, A RADICAL APPROACH TO CHILD REARING, by A. S. Neill, Hart Publishing Co., 74 Fifth Ave., New York. 380 pp. $5.75.*

PUBLICATIONS

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REYNOLDS' STORY OF PHOENIX TRIP

A voyage for peace

IN THE early spring of 1958, anthropologist Earle Reynolds returned to Hawaii to complete an around-the-world voyage aboard the yacht Phoenix. Accompanying him on the three-and-one-half-year journey were his wife Barbara, son Ted, daughter Jessica and the mate, Niki Mikami.

From Hawaii they were to sail to Hiroshima, Japan, where Dr. Reynolds had been studying the effect of radiation on children exposed to the U.S. World War II A-bomb blast.

The voyagers finally reached Hiroshima two years later after a startling detour that brought them up against the U.S. government, the Atomic Energy Commission and conventional public opinion in one of the most dramatic moral protests of our time.

Without organizational support or even a working knowledge of groups which would back such a venture, Reynolds and his crew sailed into the prohibited U.S. nuclear testing area in the South Pacific to protest bomb testing and to defend freedom of the seas.

Chronicled in the style of a ship's log, Reynolds' book about the trip, **The Forbidden Voyage,*** reveals moral principle and individual courage at its highest and government deception at its lowest. If the reader is encouraged to "do something" about peace, the Reynoldses will have succeeded. His book is a quiet, reasoned call to action embodied within the personal narrative of a family that accepted the call.

THE PHOENIX reached Honolulu shortly after the arrival of another yacht, the Golden Rule, bearing four pacifists who had announced their intention of sailing into the testing area.

At the time Reynolds wrote: "I don't necessarily approve of their method—they sound a bit like crackpots to me—but they have plenty of courage if they go through with it. Anyway, it's about time somebody did something about those tests."

Within weeks, Reynolds himself was ready to do something. In the interim the Golden Rule crew had been arrested before reaching the testing area. He spoke with the pacifists before they were sentenced to six months in prison and he became convinced of their sincerity.

The professor was about to become a "crackpot" himself. The metamorphosis from cloistered scientist to direct actionist was a painstaking one.

Though highly interested in the scientific and legal aspects of the case, Reynolds was paralyzed just by the idea of **doing** such an outlandish thing . . .I'm not the lawbreaking type," he wrote. "Why does it have to be me?"

THE YACHT PHOENIX set sail for Hiroshima June 11, "clearing for high seas," but on an undetermined course. On June 30 it was decided to enter the zone. A radio message informed authorities of the choice.

Reynolds was arrested July 2 just inside the area. He was taken back to Hawaii and charged with entering an area forbidden to American citizens. Other members of the family were not held.

On Aug. 26, 1958, Reynolds was adjudged guilty in what can only be described as a kangaroo court. He appealed, but was convicted again one year later in a similarly conducted trial. Last year, however, the San Francisco Court of Appeals unanimously decided to set the conviction aside.

Reynolds subsequently went to teach in Hiroshima.

The last entry in Reynolds' chronicle is dated Feb. 20, 1961. But the chronicle is not ended. On Sept. 24 the family again set sail from Hiroshima on another voyage—this time toward coastal waters off Siberia to protest the Soviet Union's resumption of nuclear tests.

An AP dispatch reported that he had been turned back on Oct. 29 near the port of Nakhodka, and quoted him as saying that the Soviet authorities aboard the patrol ship had been "very kind."

—Jack A. Smith

**THE FORBIDDEN VOYAGE, by Earle Reynolds. David McKay Co., Inc., 119 W. 40th St., New York. 1961. 281 pp., illustrated. $4.95.*

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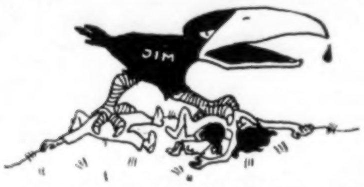
Mississippi terror

(Continued from Page 1)

"nothing but take notes."

The N.Y. **Post** said Dec. 1: "The McComb outrage is a great test case. The G-men were there. They saw it happen. They know the background. If they cannot provide sufficient evidence of the nature of the conspiracy that set the stage for this brutal attack, there is something deeply and seriously wrong."

On Dec. 2 three McComb high school students recently expelled for marching to City Hall to protest the suspension of a sit-in student arrived on a bus from Jackson. Police broke up a crowd of white youths who kicked and pounded the locked door in which the Negroes were leaving the bus terminal. As the car pulled away they threw bottles and rocks at it.



The presence of the McComb students must have surprised Mayor Douglas for he had predicted: "I think our local people are going to respect the color line whether the signs are there or not."

Police Chief Guy said: "If these people keep coming in here with all that publicity, somebody's going to get killed. I hate to say it, but it's true."

EDITOR BEATEN: The next day as John O. Emmerich, white editor and publisher of the **Enterprise Journal,** walked to church he was attacked by a white. Emmerich, who had recently recovered from a heart attack, attempted to shield his face from blows, but did not fight back. He told newsmen: "How did he know that just before Sunday School and church I go to that drug store? That thing was not planned on the spur of the moment." Emmerich said his assailant struck him because out-of-town newsmen had used his newspaper's offices. The assailant was sentenced to 30 days and fined $100. He said he would appeal.

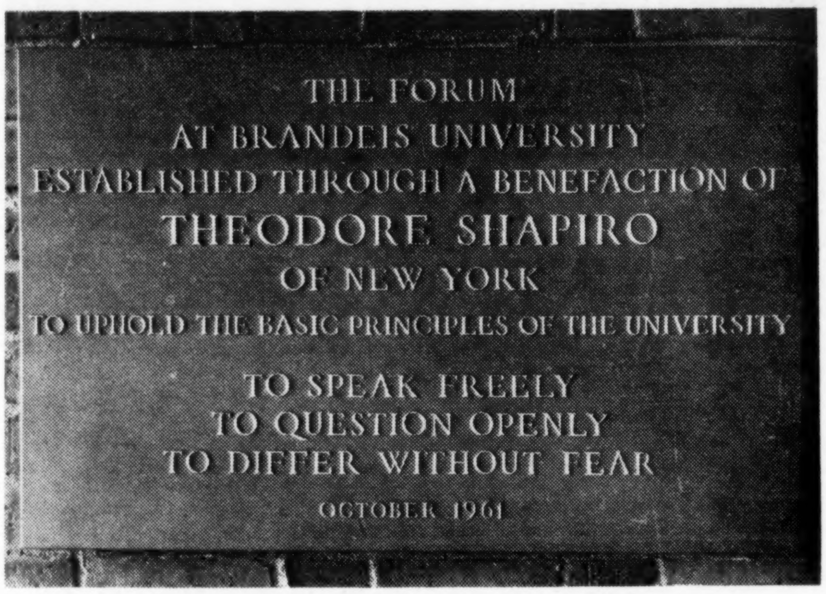
Sitton reported in the N.Y. **Times,** Dec. 4 that racial tension was high and quoted a Negro porter as saying: "If you (reporters and other observers) all leave tomorrow, then the next day some trouble is going to start here. I know that."

Federal District Judge Sidney Mize issued a temporary restraining order against the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), sponsor of the rides. CORE will appeal the injunction in New Orleans Circuit Court of Appeals. CORE pointed out that although the city and state officials charged that its activities were designed to "foment violence and to provoke breaches of the peace," no CORE member has been arrested on those charges. "Four white hoodlums have been so charged," CORE said.

After the injunction was issued five Freedom Riders attempted to enter the bus terminal. A U.S. marshal handed copies of the court order to them, and they abandoned plans to enter.

FIGHT AHEAD: The events during those first four days provided an important test for Mississippi, though by no means a decisive one. After one group of Negroes had been beaten and a second group had entered the "white" section of the terminal unmolested Mayor Douglas said: "The law regarding our bus and railroad terminals is a Federal law. We did not make it at the local level, but it is our purpose to enforce it. We are determined to this end." These are fine words from the mayor of McComb, but Mississippi Negroes still have a long fight ahead. State Atty. Gen. Joe Patterson told Mississippi sheriffs Dec. 6 not to "be afraid to do your job in enforcing the state laws (segregation laws) because you might hear that heinous cry that you're violating someone's civil rights."

Patterson said: "Irrespective of the attitude Federal authorities may take to you at times, you are clearly within your rights when you go out and enforce the laws of the State of Mississippi."



In the American tradition on a college campus

EARLIER THIS FALL the Theodore Shapiro Forum, dedicated to free and open discussion, was opened on the campus of Brandeis University in Waltham, Mass. The Forum, modeled on the Great Hall of the UN, was underwritten by Shapiro, a retired paint manufacturer, who has devoted much of his life to the fight for civil liberties and civil rights. He is a founder of the Albert Einstein Medical School of Yeshiva University in New York. Among the speakers at a Brandeis luncheon honoring Shapiro was the **GUARDIAN**'s editor, James Aronson. Dr. Abram L. Sachar, university president, presided. The plaque shown above is at the entrance of the Forum.

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General Manager of the National Guardian, who died of a heart attack Nov. 22.
WEDNESDAY, DEC. 20 — 8 P.M.
CHANNING HALL, 2936 West 8th St., L.A.
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Ausp: Monroe Defense Committee.

VACATION IN MEXICO (Part V) Sun., Dec. 17, 8 p.m. Color films, travel tips, music, refreshments. 212 W. 22 St. Apt. 5-F. Phone: DA 8-6154, afternoons. Next week: Spain.

The 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (an eyewitness report) by **ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.** Fri., Jan. 5, 8 p.m. Polonia Club. 201 2nd Av., nr. 13 St. Adm. 50c. Auspices: Manhattan Forum.

RECEPTION for Dr. Albert E. Perry of Monroe, N.C., chairman Committee to Aid Monroe Defendants, Sun., Dec. 17, 3 p.m., at home of James Dickerson, Skyview Acres, Pomona, N.Y.

CURE OR CRISIS? The U.S. and European Common Market. Speaker: Lynn Marcus. Fri., Dec. 15, 8:30 p.m., 116 University Pl. Cont. 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

JAZZ PARTY EVERY SAT. NIGHT
Walter Bowe & group. 20 Spruce St. (nr. City Hall), 9:30 p.m. Address incorrectly listed last week. Cont. 99c. Free black-eyed peas and rice.

BURNING ISSUES CANDLELIGHT PARTY, Ladies, come early and get your free corsage. Folksinging, social dancing, entertainment. Espresso, cheeses, cold cuts, pastry at reasonable prices. Cont. 75c. 67—2nd Ave., ent. 4 St. Fri., Dec. 15, 9:30 p.m.

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65 W. 16 St., Apt. 11-A Dancing . . . Refreshments . . . Entertainment
Informal Panel Discussion by American observers at recent Cuban Artists' & Writers' Congress. Cont. 99c. Ausp: Fair Play for Cuba Committee, 799 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.

RICHARD YAFFE, U.N. Correspondent "Al Hamishmar," (Israeli Hebrew Publication), Ed. of Israel Horizons, former correspondent PM, will be guest speaker of Dec. meeting of Brooklyn Chapter of Americans for Progressive Israel. He will discuss **ISRAEL ON THE WORLD SCENE.** Sat., Dec. 16, 8:30 p.m., 850 Flatbush Av., Bklyn, between Caton & Church Avenues.

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LOS ANGELES

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Mark Twain

KIRKWOOD, MO.

I am editing the anecdotes of my kinsman, Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain), and shall be happy to hear from readers of the GUARDIAN who may have anecdotes, jokes and stories dealing with the American humorist.

Cyril Clemens, Editor

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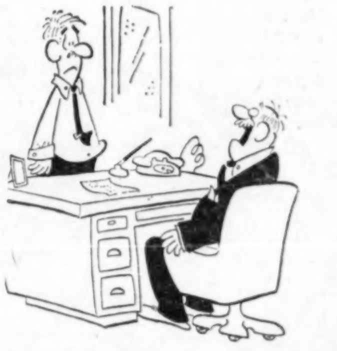
THE GALLERY

JOHN ROWE OF SHELBYVILLE, TENN., is back at work after being out for 19 days recovering from a fall into his fallout shelter. His shelter was a great attraction in town and brought lavish praise from CD officials. So many people came to see it that Rowe took out a $10,000 insurance policy as protection in case anyone got hurt near the shelter. But he discovered a gap in his coverage after he fell through the escape hatch and cracked some ribs: He wasn't covered himself . . . . Hamilton Stone Associates, which recommends advertising media to food processors, will not recommend any newspaper "which tends to aid alien causes." Sterling Rinear, the company's merchandising manager, explained: "We ascertain the editorial philosophy of newspapers under consideration to see that they believe in the same principles [God, the Constitution and free enterprise] and that their editorials mirror this belief." . . . . A new student quarterly called **Sanity** is scheduled to appear this month. A prospectus says it will be devoted to peace and disarmament. Single copies are 35c; a year's sub is $1 from Sanity, PO Box 2015, Madison 5, Wisc. . . . . GUARDIAN contributor Carleton Beals will discuss "Can the 'Alliance for Progress' Work?" with economist Robert Alexander on FM station WBAI in New York on Dec. 21, from 7:45-8:45 p.m.



Weber in the Wall Street Journal

"Buxton, you've been overworking yourself lately—keep up the good work."

WHEN DAVID ROBERTS, 6, of Horsham, England, lost a tooth, he placed it under his pillow at night so the good fairy would exchange it for a sixpence. When he awoke there was no sixpence and no tooth. Doctors removed the molar from his ear the next day. . . . . In Los Angeles, Robert Christie and his wife Mary filed suit for $24,692 against the Planned Parenthood Fedn., Parke Davis Co. and gynecologist Dr. G. P. Griggs. The couple said the damages were to cover maternity costs as well as food and care for 21 years for their daughter born last July. Christie asserted that an oral contraceptive recommended by the federation "didn't work the way it was supposed to." . . . There's a burglar running loose in Washington. The only description police have to go on is that he is bald and self-conscious. In recent weeks he took $4,000 worth of assorted wigs from Marcel Cadeux Salon, 1,222 wigs from Elizabeth Arden Salon and 25 toupees from Ted's Hair Stylist . . . . Furrier Georges Kajlan in New York is offering for the man who has everything a "saga blue fox" blanket for $2,000, including gift wrapping . . . If fur itches your man, you may prefer Saks Fifth Avenue's suggestion: A Mark II Gold Flacon of after-shower cologne for only $2,500. So you don't think its overpriced, Saks explains that "perhaps only 10 men in the world" will own one. The cologne is contained in "a 14 karat, hand-wrought, solid gold flacon encased in leafed rosewood." The owner's name will be inscribed at no extra cost and he will receive a lifetime supply of Mark II. A wise shopper might wait a year and get it free for green stamps.

THE BRITISH PEACE GROUP Committee of 100 has a clandestine radio-TV voice. After the radio and TV stations close down at night and on Sunday mornings, they broadcast announcements on regular radio and TV frequencies. They also play anti-war songs by Robin Hall, a popular TV entertainer . . . . Author Edita Morris won the Albert Schweitzer Prize in Paris for her book **The Flowers of Hiroshima.** The book has been published in 13 countries. She is the wife of American novelist Ira Morris. . . . The Sears Roebuck catalog offers a new game for children called "Summit." It says, "Now top level decisions are in your hands. Should you apply economic pressure, gain popular support or 'rattle rockets'? Your skill in extending spheres of influence forces the conference . . . there the winner is decided." . . . After all the hoopla over the alleged corruption in labor, which culminated in passage of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law, the Los Angeles **Mirror** reported: "A two-year appraisal of the act by government men upholds last year's findings: There is no evidence of widespread corruption in labor-management relations in the United States."

SEAN O'CASEY sent a message of support to last month's National Peace Congress in London in which he urged Britain to save the world from a nuclear grave. He said:

"Such a contemplation is terrible—that this world would become a smoky cinder, a greater grave than Britain herself, without even a flower left to soften the murky vast expansion; for then even Bernard Shaw's charming chirruping grasshopper on his little swing-swong would be gone forever.

"Britain is a beautiful country, and we struggle to preserve its beauty being spoiled by thoughtless building and stupid planning. Doing this then, shouldn't we all strive, including even the Labor Party, to prevent her utter and pitiable annihilation? . . . .

"The tests should stop; not only this, but all bombs already made should be destroyed; not only that, but men should be stripped of all conventional weapons; the soldiers should turn about and march back to where they came from, each man to his own townland, to his own family gathering.

"Then shall every man sit under his own figtree, every grasshopper swing on his own little swing-swong, in full security and an everlasting peace."

—Robert E. Light

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Last Minute Gifts . . .

IF you've delayed your holiday shopping until the last minute, here are a few GBS items that are on hand and can be shipped the day we receive your order. All—except the overlooked little *Fujipet*—have been heavily ordered this season, and every one is a solid bargain. This is the last time the Buying Service will appear this year, so *order today!*

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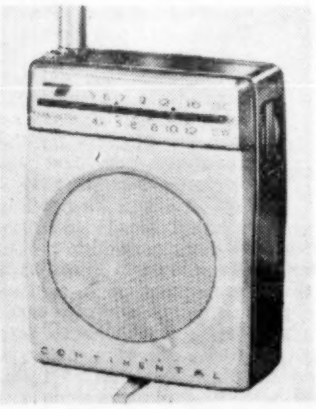

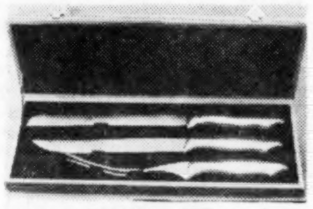

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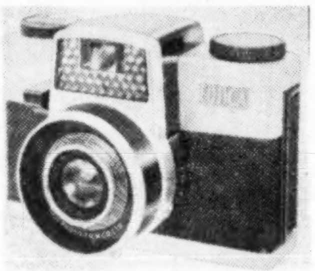

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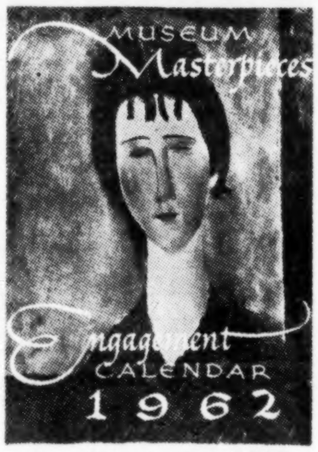

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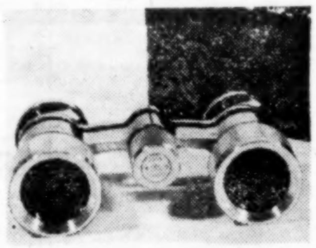

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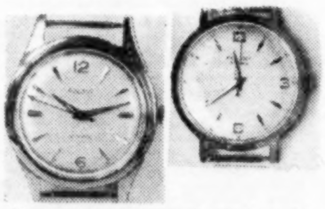

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the SPECTATOR

An arena of protest

Excerpts of an address by Nedrick Young, Oscar-winning blacklisted screenwriter (The Defiant Ones, Inherit the Wind), *at Carnegie Hall Sept. 22 under the auspices of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.*

WE ARE BOUND TOGETHER, my non-blacklisted brother and I, and he is no more free than I am. From the time that man first put chisel to stone tablet, the writer's credo has been simply this: The duly constituted authority must equate with my conscience, or one of us is doomed. It's an old story.

But now something new has been added. Monopoly and terror—the historical brain rack—get tighter. The powerful ones swallow up our press, invade our magazines, obscure our poetries, reduce our novels, destroy our theater, humiliate our tradition and our culture, and warn us that if we dare to retrieve them, we will be hit with the full recrimination of the blacklist and whatever deadly punitive measures they can devise.

Recently I had the opportunity to discuss the subject with a student at one of our greater universities. He is a friend and classmate of my own son. I know this boy, and I respect him. He is an aware boy. He wants to write—he needs to write. He is extraordinarily gifted. He is majoring in creative writing, and when he spoke of himself, he spoke also of his fellow students. The one central theme through all our work, he said, is futility. We do not feel affected by the blacklist, but by the blackout in our own lives. We don't know where we're going, but we don't know where anybody else is going either. We see all the wrong things, the corrupt things, the stupid things that go on at campus, at home, in the nation, in the world, but what can we do about it? Nothing.

HE WENT ON to describe the general paralysis he felt, and finally he said: "If a professor gets fired for his political convictions, the others get the message. Then the students. Then the public. And after a while you realize there is no point in having convictions. Because even if you did, there's no way of putting them to work. Getting kicked out of school and losing a job is one thing, but having nothing to fall back on is another. No organization, no outlets for protest, no one to talk to even. What's wrong with futility as a truth? It is a truth. It's our truth."

For my young friend, the arena of struggle did not even exist.

IT'S NOT POSSIBLE to speak of the blacklist in a vacuum. It's but one cog in the machinery of an over-all blackout that clouds the entire American scene.

There's a tendency to plead for the individual to be restored to his rightful place in his chosen field, but who are the real victims? Writers of political conscience have been removed from the mass media, but you are the mass and have drunk the poison of what has been allowed you. Teachers of political conscience have been removed from the classroom, but it is your children that have had to learn the road of docility, of misinformation, of conformity.

You have been made to live isolated from a day in your own destiny, and the Constitution itself has been found to be unconstitutional when expedient, when its great tenets bear on the question of freedom of speech, freedom of political affiliation.

From whom have these liberties been stolen? Not from the few victims of the blacklist, the McCarran Act, the Smith Act—but from the whole nation. It's taken but a short period of 14 years to create a wasteland of the American character—to still our voices—to try to and almost kill our spirits—to ready us, to prepare for the quietness so necessary to those who would plan new atrocities at home and in the world at large.

SHALL A MINORITY of governors, presidents, premiers, kings, pashas, decide the questions of life and death for us? Shall the manufacturers of poison for our minds and ammunition for our flesh make a super-nova of our earth? Or do we now begin to make decisions for them?

How else can we liberate ourselves and our children? We as citizens and parents must give them back what has been stolen from us.

The blanketed arenas of protest must be opened—the arenas of protest and action. To be properly informed is to be properly armed.

Is it harder now? Yes. Is there more at stake? Yes. Is it worth whatever sacrifice to claim our own humanities once more? YES, WE HAVE NO CHOICE. We have created an arena here tonight, together. Let there be more like this one. Wherever evil raises its ugly head, let there be more arenas. For every attack on civil and universal liberties and freedoms, let there be that many more.

The time has come to unsilence ourselves. The time has come to fight back. The world is our home, my friends. If we wish to put it in order, let it be known.

Nedrick Young's full speech, "About Young Writers," is available as a 12-inch L.P. record for $1.50. The reverse side has other highlights of the meeting, including the speech of David I. Shapiro, attorney for Young and other litigants in a suit for triple damages against blacklisting producers, now in the Federal courts. Order from ECLC, 421 Seventh Ave., N.Y.C.